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The purpose of this report is to provide basic information about poor nonwhite families in Texas compared with those in the nation at large, using 1960 U.S. Census of Population figures as the major information source for comparisons. Poverty is defined in this report as a total family income below $3,00. The first 2 chapters are concerned with the magnitude of poverty and its residential distribution. Comparisons presented in these initial chapters illustrate that the proportion of nonwhite families living in poverty in Texas is about 20% higher than in the nation, and that relatively more of the State's total white poverty than nonwhite poverty occurs in rural areas, and conversely, that relatively more of the total nonwhite than white poverty occurs in urban areas. The remaining chapters are concerned with similar U.S. and Texas comparisons of relationships between poverty and occupational distribution, employment characteristics, educational attainment, and selected family characteristics. (EV)

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Michael F. Lever
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TEXAS AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION • TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY
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POVERTY AMONG NONWHITE FAMILIES IN TEXAS AND THE NATION:

A Comparative Analysis

Michael F. Lever

W. Kennedy Upham

Departmental Information Report 68-4

Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology

Texas A&M University
Texas Agricultural Experiment Station

College Station, Texas 77843
December, 1968

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INTRODUCTION

The Problem

The problem of poverty has been receiving increasing attention in recent years, particularly at the federal and state government levels. Ameliorative efforts have been made, often with great enthusiasm and optimism regarding results, only to have the enthusiasm and optimism steadily ground down in the face of less than hoped for results and an increasing awareness of the complexities of the problem. As a result, recognition is being given to the fact that poverty, no less than any other problem, must be understood before it can be solved. The purpose of this report is to provide basic information about poor nonwhite families in Texas compared with those in the nation at large, with the hope that it will contribute to the knowledge needed to understand the problem of poverty among these people and others like them.[1]

---

[1] This report was made possible by the support of the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station as a contribution to TAES Research Project H-2611 and to Southern Regional Project S-61, "Human Resource Development and Mobility in the Rural South."

This report is the fourth in a series of publications by the Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology at Texas A&M University which is concerned with poverty in Texas. For detailed discussion of the definition of poverty, see the first two of the three previous reports: William P. Kuvlesky and David E. Wright, Poverty in Texas: The Distribution of Low-Income Families (Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Departmental Information Report No. 65-4; College Station: Texas A&M University, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, October, 1965); W. Kennedy Upham and David E. Wright, Poverty Among Spanish Americans in Texas: Low-Income Families in a Minority Group (Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Departmental Information Report No. 66-2; (Continued on page 2)

The Data

The U. S. Census of Population in 1960 provided the basic data from which the information presented here was assembled and computed. Since the census was taken in April of 1960, all income data refer to income received during the calendar year 1959. While ideally it would be desirable to have more current data, none exist of sufficient scope to permit the kind of analysis reported here. At any rate, the lapse of time is not as serious as it may seem. There are not likely to have been major shifts between 1959 and the present in the dominant trends which are illustrated here. The situation today, barring any such shifts, may thus be expected to be similar to that existing when the last census was taken. What is described here is probably not far from what exists today among nonwhite families in Texas and in the nation.

Procedure

The focus of the report is low-income nonwhite families, excluding consideration of individuals not living in families. However, since almost 90 percent of the nonwhites in Texas and almost 91 percent of those in the nation live in families[2] the majority of poor nonwhites are included in the present analysis. Poverty is defined

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(Footnote 1 continued from page 1) College Station: Texas A&M University, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, September, 1966); and W. Kennedy Upham and Michael F. Lever, Differentials in the Incidence of Poverty in Texas (Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Departmental Information Report No. 66-9; College Station: Texas A&M University, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, December, 1966).

[2] Computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population, 1960, Volume I, Part 45-Texas, Table 19; and Part 1, Table 54.

here as total family income below $3,000 and will be delimited further at times as moderate poverty (between $2,000-$2,999) and extreme poverty (below $2,000).[3]

Because poverty is a relative concept, this report analyzes poverty among the nonwhite families of Texas in terms of comparisons with the nonwhite families of the nation[4] as well as with the white families of Texas. Consequently, while the original primary focus of the analysis was Texas nonwhites, an exposition of the nature and extent of poverty among Texas whites and U. S. nonwhites is also made.

The first two chapters of the report are concerned with the magnitude of poverty and its residential distribution. The remaining chapters are concerned with the broad relationships which exist between poverty and occupational distribution, employment characteristics, educational attainment, and selected family characteristics.[5] Appendices

---

[3] The terms "living in poverty" and "poor" are used synonymously in this report.

[4] Comparing Texas nonwhites with those of all the United States (including Texas in the total) has a slight tendency to understate whatever differences may exist between the state and nation. However, since the nation as a whole is a common unit of comparison, we feel it is preferable not to subtract Texas data from the U. S. totals in making comparisons.

[5] A number of recent writings have sought to describe the Negro situation in America in much broader and more personal terms than is possible when utilizing the statistical approach represented in this report. The following are typical of the many works available: Leonard Broom and Norval D. Glenn, *Transformation of the Negro American* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965); Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill (eds.), *Employment, Race, and Poverty* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967); *The Negro and the City* (New York: Time-Life Books, 1968), adapted from the January, 1968, special issue of Fortune on "Business and the Urban Crisis"; Talcott Parsons and (Continued on page 4)

A and B contain a detailed analysis of geographic and residential patterns of nonwhite family poverty within Texas, and Appendix C contains supplementary occupational and employment data.

(Footnote 5 continued from page 3) Kenneth B. Clark (eds.), The Negro American (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966); Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1964); Samuel D. Proctor, The Young Negro in America: 1960-1980 (New York: Association Press, 1966). The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (either the Bantom paperback edition or the official version published by the Government Printing Office, both 1968) provides some insights into certain negative implications of the present situation in America (and Texas).

I. EXTENT OF POVERTY AMONG NONWHITE FAMILIES

The incidence of poverty among the nonwhite families of Texas is compared with that of nonwhite families in the nation primarily to provide a broader context within which to evaluate the data for Texas nonwhites. An incidental but very important consequence of this procedure is that it involves an exposition of the incidence of poverty among the nonwhite families in the nation as well as in Texas. Since the proportion of nonwhites in the nation (11.4 percent) is not significantly lower than that in Texas (12.6 percent) the comparisons will be between two populations similar in terms of the proportions of nonwhites in each.[6]

The comparisons in this chapter are meant to provide a picture of the relative incidence or rates of poverty in Texas and the nation with respect to the nonwhite population. Rather than attempting to explain the causes of the similarities and differences encountered in the comparisons, the discussion will be confined to a clear exposition of the actual situation with respect to poverty.

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[6] This similarity eliminates certain problems of comparability. Some other familiar problems of using aggregate data remain--in particular the concealing of local social, economic, and political situations which impinge upon the incidence of poverty within state and national groupings. While some shortcomings are virtually impossible to overcome with the data available, they have little bearing on the nature of the analysis that is presented here.

The Nation

In 1959, 2,035,223 (47.8 percent) of the nonwhite families in the United States were living in poverty. Over two-thirds of these families living in poverty had incomes below $2,000 and would be considered to be living in extreme poverty according to our definitions. The remaining poor families, roughly one out of three, had incomes between $2,000 and $3,000. For descriptive purposes, those families with incomes below $3,000 but of $2,000 or over will be referred to as living in moderate poverty.

Of the nation's nonwhite families living in poverty, 71.6 percent or 1,457,755 families resided in the Census South.[7] Within this region, which contained over half the nonwhite families in the nation, almost two-thirds of the nonwhite families were living in poverty. The very high percentage of impoverished nonwhite families who live in the Census South is attributable, in part, to the dense concentration of nonwhites in that region, but other factors are also involved as shown below.

Texas Compared to the Nation and the South

In 1960, Texas had 152,704 nonwhite families living in poverty (57.7 percent of all its nonwhite families). Of the nonwhite poor, about two-thirds experienced extreme poverty and one-third were living in moderate poverty. The relative extent of poverty among nonwhite families in the nation, the South, and Texas is illustrated in Figure 1.

---

[7] The Census South is the region composed of the following 16 states and the District of Columbia: Alabama, Arkansas, Delware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. This group of states will henceforth be referred to simply as the South.

From Figure 1, it is evident that there is relatively more poverty, both moderate and extreme, among nonwhites in Texas than in the nation, while nonwhite poverty[8] in Texas as well as in the nation is relatively less extensive than in the South. The proportion of families experienceing extreme poverty in the South is notably higher than in either the nation or in Texas. The much greater concentration of nonwhites in the population of the South as well as its social, economic and political environment help to explain the higher rates of poverty there. Factors unique to the South complicate comparisons with the nation and Texas, but they do not destroy their usefulness.[9] It should be remembered that Texas, straddling the border between the traditional "old South" and the "West," is only partly

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[8] For brevity, poverty among nonwhite families will often be referred to as "nonwhite poverty" which is not literally correct, but is less awkward than the more cumbersome phrase "poverty among nonwhite families." A similar construction is employed for poverty among white families.

[9] It is true that the "cost of living" may be lower in at least parts of the South, and that Negroes in the North are virtually all urban while many in the South are still rural--even farm-dwellers. However, the average size of nonwhite families in the South is larger. Such facts make exact comparisons impossible, but do not invalidate broad relationships and generalizations.

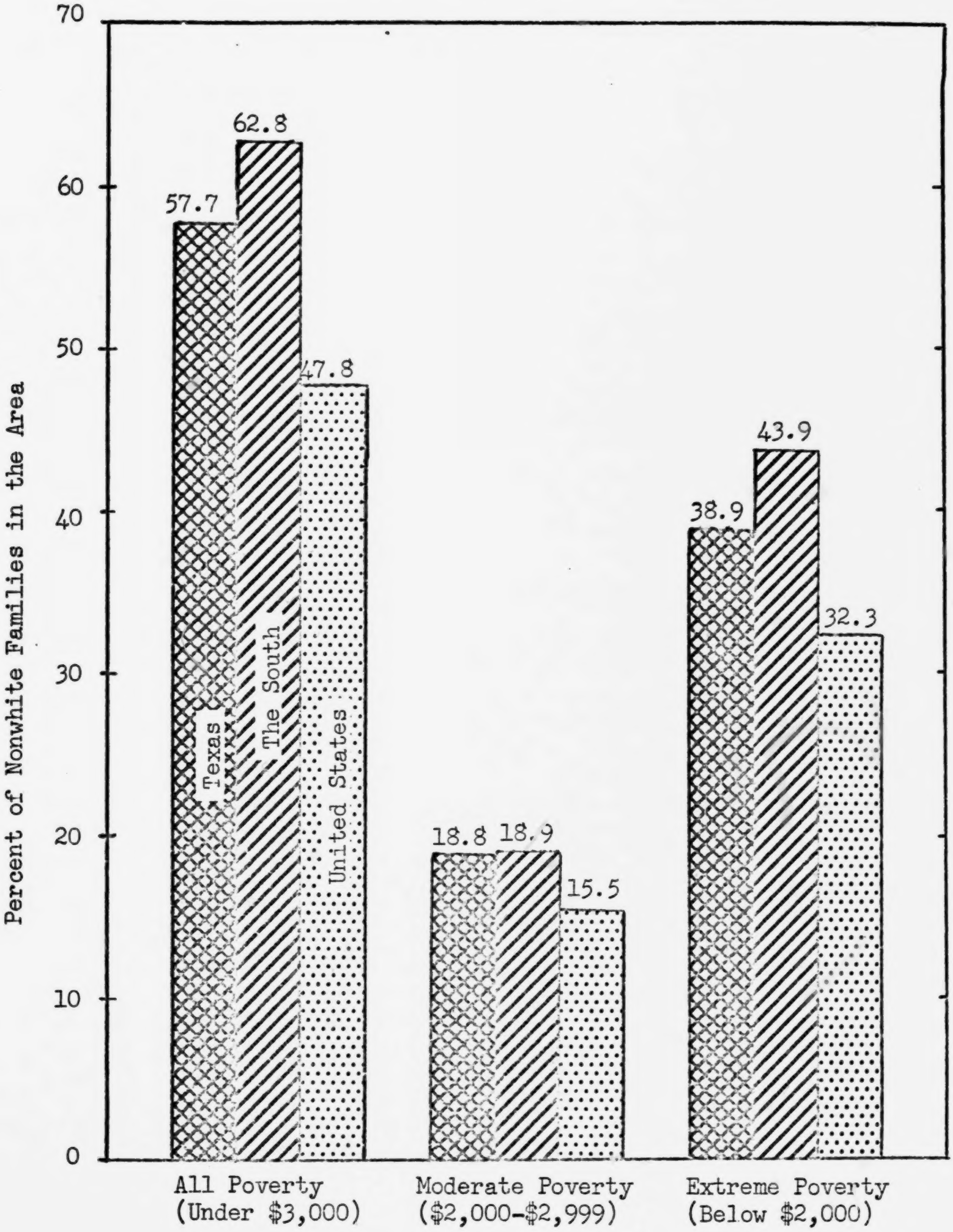

Figure 1. Percent of Nonwhite Families that Experienced Poverty in Texas, the South, and the United States, in 1959.

"Southern." Nonwhites in significant numbers are to be found only in east Texas, as far west as Fort Worth, Waco and San Antonio, and in the metropolitan areas. Elsewhere they are scarce. (See Figure 2.) As will become apparent later, the distribution of the more severe poverty among the nonwhite population of Texas has a similar regional pattern within the state.

Nonwhite-White Comparisons in Texas and the Nation

While there is no question that poverty among nonwhites is considerably more severe in Texas than in the nation as a whole, we might briefly consider the problem in a broader context. Comparing the percentage of poverty in two populations, (nonwhites in Texas and in the nation) as we have done, gives a good indication of the extent of physical as well as cultural deprivation within these two populations. But when the populations compared are in reality parts of larger populations as nonwhites are, it is important to get an indication of the relative deprivation of each subgroup (nonwhite) in comparison to the rest of the population (white) among whom the members of each subgroup live.

One way to make such a comparison is to examine the extent of poverty among white and nonwhite families in both geographic areas. Table 1 presents the data necessary for this comparison.[10] In both

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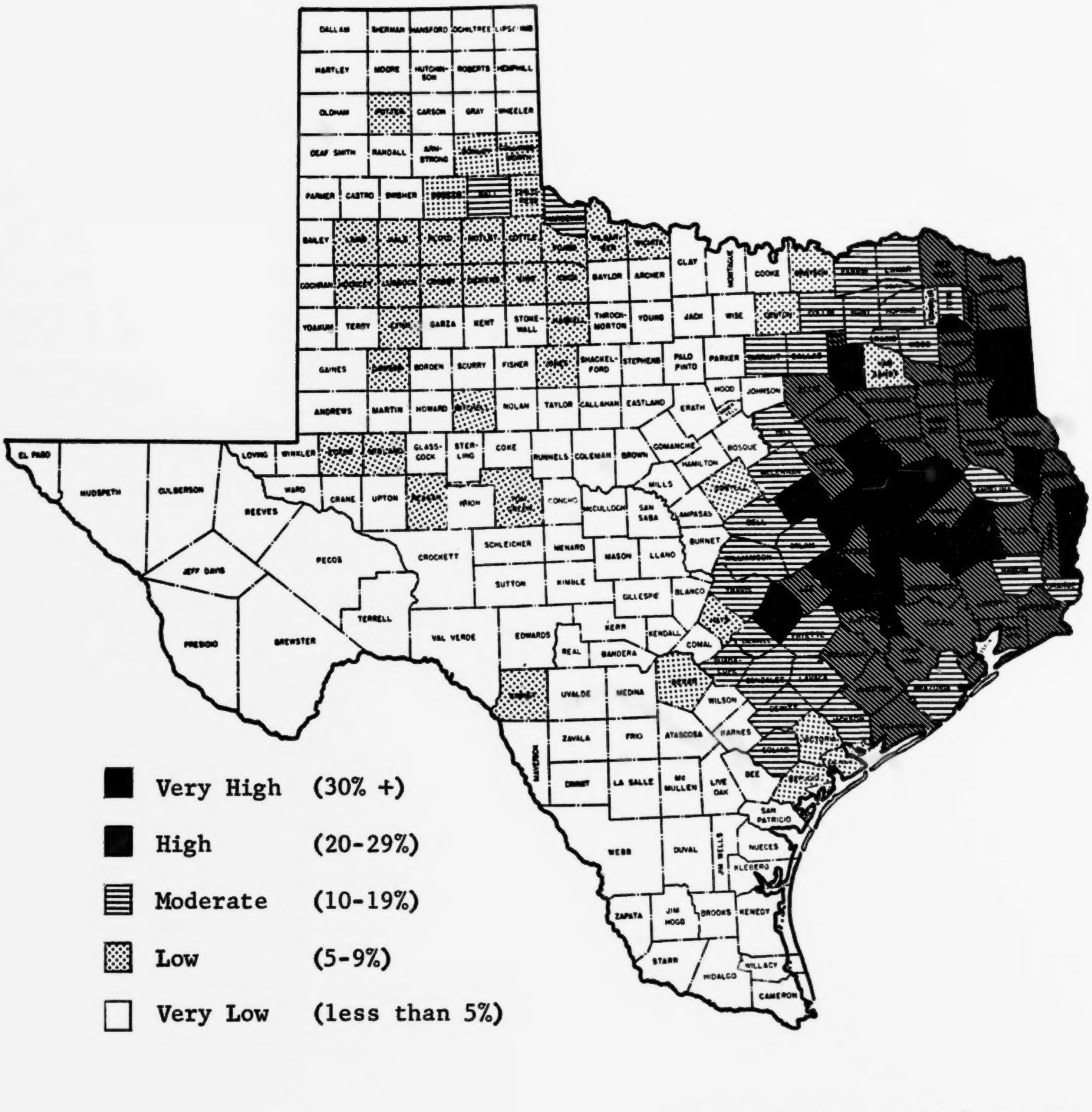
[10] This comparison and all others in this report between nonwhite and white families tend to understate the relatively greater deprivation of nonwhites compared to "whites" as we usually think of them. This is because the "white" group, as used here, contains another minority group--Spanish Americans--who are similar to nonwhites in the extent of poverty among them. See Upham and Wright, op. cit., and Upham and Lever, op. cit.

Figure 2. Percentage nonwhites by county, Texas, 1960.


■ Very High (30% +)
■ High (20-29%)
▤ Moderate (10-19%)
▨ Low (5-9%)
☐ Very Low (less than 5%)
DALLAM
SHERMAN
HANSFORD
OCHILTREE
LIPSCOMB
HARTLEY
MOORE
HUTCHINSON
ROBERTS
HEMPHILL
OLDHAM
POTTER
CARSON
GRAY
WHEELER
DEAF SMITH
RANDALL
ARMSTRONG
PARMER
CASTRO
SWISHER
BAILEY
COCHRAN
YOAKUM
TERRY
GARZA
KENT
STONEWALL
GAINES
BORDEN
SCURRY
FISHER
ANDREWS
MARTIN
HOWARD
NOLAN
TAYLOR
CALLAHAN
EASTLAND
BAYLOR
ARCHER
CLAY
COOKE
THROCKMORTON
YOUNG
JACK
WISE
SHACKELFORD
STEPHENS
PALO PINTO
PARKER
HOOD
JOHNSON
ERATH
EL PASO
HUDSPETH
CULBERSON
LOVING
WINKLER
GLASSCOCK
STERLING
COKE
RUNNELS
COLEMAN
BROWN
COMANCHE
HAMILTON
BOSQUE
MILLS
WARD
REEVES
CRANE
UPTON
IRION
CONCHO
McCULLOCH
SAN SABA
LAMPASAS
JEFF DAVIS
PECOS
CROCKETT
SCHLEICHER
MENARD
MASON
LLANO
BURNET
SUTTON
KIMBLE
GILLESPIE
BLANCO
PRESIDIO
BREWSTER
TERRELL
VAL VERDE
EDWARDS
KERR
KENDALL
COMAL
REAL
BANDERA
UVALDE
MEDINA
WILSON
ZAVALA
FRIO
ATASCOSA
KARNES
MAVERICK
DIMMIT
LA SALLE
McMULLEN
LIVE OAK
BEE
SAN PATRICIO
WEBB
DUVAL
JIM WELLS
NUECES
KLEBERG
ZAPATA
JIM HOGG
BROOKS
KENEDY
STARR
HIDALGO
WILLACY
CAMERON

State Average = 12.6 percent

Source: United States Bureau of the Census
United States Census of Population, 1960,
Vol. 45--Texas.

Table 1. Nonwhite and White Families Living in Poverty and Extreme Poverty, and Nonwhite/White Ratios of Poverty and Extreme Poverty, in Texas and the United States, 1959.

Area	Families with Annual Income Less Than: $3,000 Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite/White Ratio	$2,000 Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite/White Ratio
	-------Number-----			-------Number-----		
Texas	152,704	535,261		103,058	327,794	
U. S.	2,035,223	7,615,016		1,375,865	4,510,616	
	-------Percent-----			-------Percent-----		
Texas	57.7	25.2	2.3	38.9	15.4	2.5
U. S.	47.8	18.6	2.6	32.3	11.0	2.9

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume I, Part 1--United States Summary, Table 227; and Part 45--Texas, Table 65.

Texas and the United States the percentage living in poverty is much higher among the nonwhite families than it is among the whites, and in both places the percentage of poor nonwhite families is quite high. The same is true when extreme poverty is considered. It is evident also that there is proportionately much more poverty, as well as extreme poverty, among the families of Texas than among those in the United States, regardless of color.

Another way to compare the data is to create a ratio of nonwhite poverty to white poverty in each area and category. Such a ratio is an index of the incidence of poverty among nonwhite families relative to that among white families. If the ratio is less than 1.0, then the incidence of nonwhite poverty is less than the incidence of white poverty. If the ratio is greater than 1.0 (the typical case), then the incidence of poverty among nonwhites is greater than that among whites. For example, a nonwhite/white poverty ratio of 0.5 indicates that the incidence of nonwhite poverty in the particular case is half the incidence of white poverty. A ratio of 1.5 indicates that the incidence of nonwhite poverty is one and one-half times as great as that of white poverty, or simply that the nonwhite group experiences fifty percent more poverty than the white group.

In Table 1 such ratios are presented in the lower section along with the percentages of poverty already discussed. The ratios express the relative severity of nonwhite as compared to white poverty, and in each case, the ratios for the United States are higher than those for Texas. This means that nonwhite families in the nation as a whole experience a somewhat greater disadvantage, proportionately, compared to white families than do nonwhite families in Texas. It could be said that the "gap" between the two racial categories is not quite so great in Texas as in the nation at large. At the same time, the burden of poverty is greater in Texas for both races.

Summary

To summarize the United States-Texas comparisons in different terms (see Table 1), the proportion of nonwhite families living in poverty in Texas is about 20 percent higher than in the nation; for extreme poverty, it is also about 20 percent higher. On the other hand, the South as a whole recorded even higher proportions of its nonwhite families having incomes below $3,000 and $2,000 than did Texas in 1959. While the disproportionate incidence of poverty among nonwhite relative to white families is somewhat less in Texas than in the nation, this fact does not alter the considerably greater occurrence of poverty and extreme poverty in Texas among nonwhite families. It simply means that for the white families as well, there is a greater burden of poverty.

II. RESIDENCE AND POVERTY

Nonwhites in Texas and the United States

Distribution of Poverty by Residence.

The residential distribution of nonwhite families living in poverty demonstrates some of the similarities and differences in the structure of nonwhite poverty in Texas as compared to the U. S. Table 2 shows this distribution. Poverty is more heavily rural than would be expected from the urban-rural distribution of the total U. S. and Texas populations. Nevertheless, most of the nonwhite poverty of

Table 2. Distribution of Nonwhite Families Living in Poverty, by Residence, for the U. S. and Texas, 1959.

Area and Income Group	Urban	Rural Nonfarm	Rural Farm	Total
	Number			
U. S. Total	3,160,835	725,141	277,528	4,163,504
U. S. Poor	1,277,186	523,662	234,375	2,035,223
Texas Total	203,732	48,689	12,412	264,833
Texas Poor	105,185	37,303	10,216	152,704
	Percent			
U. S. Total	75.9	17.4	6.7	100.0
U. S. Poor	62.8	25.7	11.5	100.0
Texas Total	76.9	18.4	4.7	100.0
Texas Poor	68.9	24.4	6.7	100.0

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960, Volume I, Part 1, United States Summary, Tables 80 and 95, and Part 45, Texas, Tables 50 and 65.

both is concentrated in urban areas. An important difference is that a higher proportion of the poor families reside in rural, and especially rural farm areas in the U. S. than in Texas. The proportion of poor nonwhite families in Texas is notably higher than that of the U. S.

Extent of Poverty by Residence.

Looking at the incidence of poverty within the populations of the residential areas themselves it can be seen (Figure 3) that nonwhite poverty is more severe in rural than in urban areas of both Texas and the U. S. It is interesting to note, however, that the incidence of nonwhite poverty is 25 percent higher in Texas urban areas than in U. S. urban areas. The combination of a higher proportion of total poverty as well as a higher concentration of poverty in the urban areas of Texas than of the U. S. implies a more crucial need in Texas for adequate urban programs designed to alleviate nonwhite poverty.

Whites and Nonwhites in Texas

Distribution of Poverty by Residence.

Comparing the urban-rural distribution of poor white and nonwhite families in Texas can indicate some of the differences in the nature of poverty between the two, as well as point out some of the distinctive characteristics of nonwhite poverty in particular. Table 3 shows

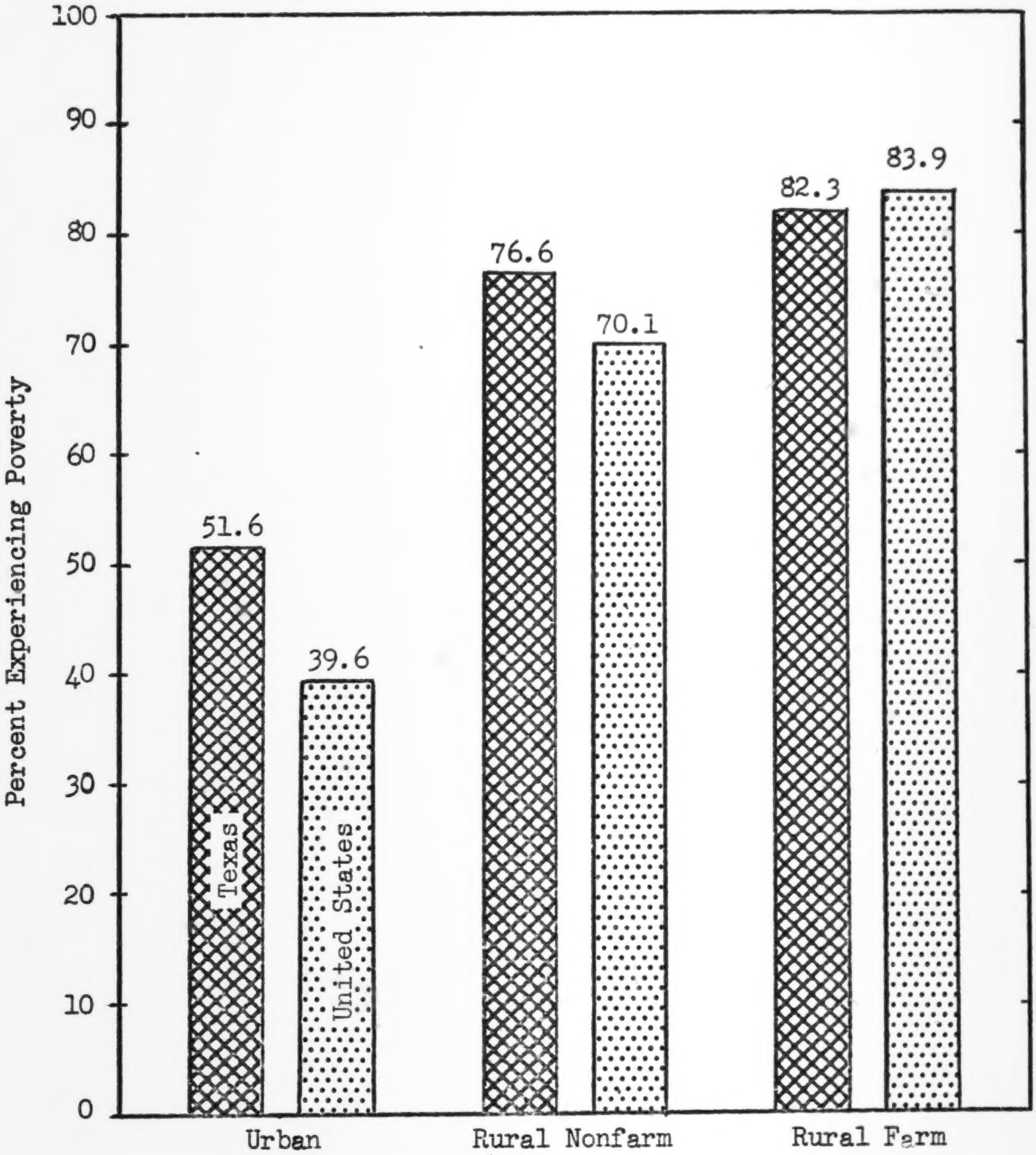


Figure 3. Percent of Nonwhite Families in Each Residence Category Experiencing Poverty, in Texas and the United States, 1959.

that relatively more of the total nonwhite poverty than total white poverty is concentrated in urban areas, and that relatively more of the total white poverty than total nonwhite poverty exists in rural areas.

Table 3. Residential Distribution of All Families and Poor Families in Texas, for White and Nonwhite Families, 1960.

	Total Families		Urban Distribution		Rural Distribution	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
			----------Percent----------			
All Families	2,127,731	264,833	74.6	76.9	25.4	23.1
Poor Families	535,261	152,704	60.1	68.9	39.9	31.1

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume I, Part 45 - Texas, Table 65.

While rural areas had higher proportions of poverty for both white and nonwhite families relative to the proportion of total rural families, this is particularly the case for white families. The proportion of rural poor of the total poor nonwhite families was over one-third higher than the proportion of all nonwhite who were living in rural areas. At the same time, the proportion of rural poor of the total poor white families was over fifty percent higher than the proportion of total white families who were living in rural areas.

To put it another way, among the poor, proportionately more of the white than nonwhite families lived in rural areas. This implies that more of the poverty among white families was related to rural environments, with their very high concentrations of poverty and limited employment opportunities, than was the case among nonwhite families. In urban areas, with lower concentrations of poor families and presumably broader employment opportunities, the proportion of total nonwhite families in poverty was higher than the difference in the urban distribution of total white and nonwhite families would cause.

When the rural area is divided into farm and nonfarm sectors, the higher proportion of total white than nonwhite poor families is concentrated mainly in the rural farm sector. In the nonfarm sector approximately the same percentage of total poor families are present for both whites and nonwhites, although the percentage of total white families is about 7 percent lower than that of total nonwhite families. In the farm sector, the proportion that rural farm poor were of all poor white families was 2.3 times as high as for nonwhites, while the proportion that rural farm families were was only 1.7 times as high as for total nonwhite families.

The above indicates that relatively more of the state's total white poverty than nonwhite poverty occurred in rural areas, and conversely, that relatively more of the total nonwhite than white poverty occurred in urban areas. While this gives some indication of the differences between white and nonwhite poverty in terms of determinants, it does not illustrate the relative severity of poverty between the two. To do this, we will turn now to the relative extent of poverty among whites and nonwhites in the state.

Extent of Poverty by Residence.

In Figure 4, the extent or incidence of poverty as well as extreme poverty is given for white and nonwhite families in the three residential sectors. It can be seen immediately that the incidence of poverty and extreme poverty is considerably higher for nonwhite families in each residential category. This means that a higher percentage of nonwhite families experience poverty and extreme poverty in urban, rural, nonfarm, and rural farm areas.

The incidence of poverty among urban nonwhites is over two and one-half times higher than among urban whites. In rural nonfarm areas, the incidence of poverty is over two times as high for nonwhites as for whites. In the rural farm areas the incidence of nonwhite poverty is about one and three-fourths as high as white poverty. In all three areas, extreme poverty is over twice as high for nonwhites as whites. In urban areas it is two and three quarters times as high, and in rural nonfarm areas, two and a half times as high.

There is no question that nonwhites in Texas are considerably more impoverished than whites. It is also clear that the proportions impoverished are lowest in urban areas and highest in rural farm areas. It seems of particular interest, however, that the extent to which the incidence of poverty and extreme poverty among nonwhite families exceeds that among white families declines from urban to rural nonfarm to rural farm areas. In other words, nonwhite families compared to white families are significantly more disadvantaged in urban areas,

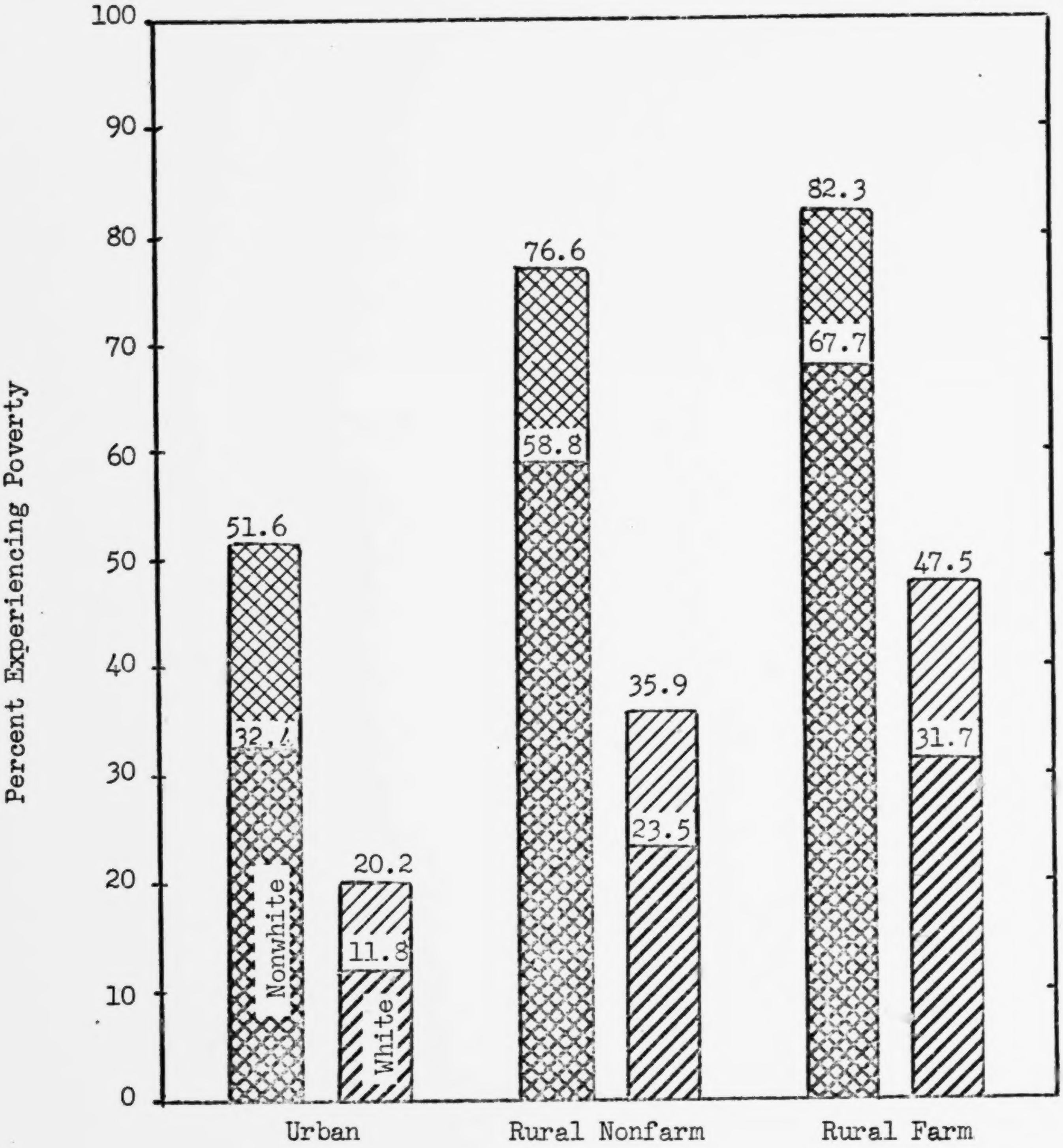


Figure 4. Incidence of Poverty and Extreme Poverty in Urban, Rural Nonfarm, and Rural Farm Areas, for Nonwhite and White Families in Texas, 1959. (Lower portion of each bar shows family income below $2,000, or "extreme poverty," while total bar represents percent of families with income under $3,000.)

where employment opportunities, educational facilities, and other social advantages are more extensive. This seems to imply either that nonwhites are less able to take advantage of these opportunities, or that the economic gains of having these opportunities accrue less to nonwhites than they do to whites.

III. OCCUPATIONS AND POVERTY

It is commonly held that nonwhites are generally disadvantaged in the labor market due largely to their limited training and skills, and that this is a central factor in nonwhite poverty. For this reason it would be extremely valuable to determine to what extent this factor operates among Texas nonwhites. Unfortunately the available data do not permit a direct investigation of the relationship of training, skills or even general education to the job opportunities of the population--nonwhite or white--but the occupational effects of low skill levels undoubtedly are reflected in the occupational distribution of nonwhites, and the relationship between type of occupation and the occurrence of poverty can be indicated by the extent of poverty in different broad occupational categories. Two sets of data--occupational distribution and incidence of poverty by occupational category--will be used to compare the structure of the nonwhite labor force and the extent of poverty in various occupations for the United States and Texas, and to compare occupational structures and poverty of nonwhites and whites in Texas. The comparisons are standardized by using data for families whose heads were in the experienced civilian labor force.[11] No standardization or control by age of head, educational attainment or other factors was possible with data available.

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[11] The "experienced civilian labor force" includes persons classified as employed, and also those unemployed persons who were currently seeking jobs, and who had worked in the past. There are a number of people and heads of families who are excluded from the experienced civilian labor force. Among these excluded are retired persons, seasonal workers counted during the "off" season who were not looking for other work, housewives, persons in the military services, students without jobs, disabled persons, and inmates of institutions. Also excluded are unemployed persons who have never before worked.

Nonwhites in Texas and the United States

Occupational Distribution of Family Heads.

Available census data on occupations are provided in a framework of twelve broad occupational categories[12] which have been utilized to construct Figure 5. While occupations are often grouped into such broad classes as "white collar" and "blue collar," here a crude indication of training and skill levels had been attempted by dividing occupations into roughly higher skilled and lower skilled groupings.

The higher skilled occupations included 27.6 percent of the nation's nonwhite heads of families, but only 19.8 percent of the nonwhite family heads in Texas, indicating in all probability that a lower proportion of Texas nonwhites actually possess the training and required skills for such positions. This conclusion is clouded by other considerations, however, such as the number of positions potentially available to those nonwhites who do have the training, and the attitudes of employers and fellow workers toward filling such positions with nonwhites.

Excluding the category "occupation not reported," 66.4 percent of the nation's nonwhite family heads were in the lower skilled occupations,

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[12] See Tables 1 and 2, Appendix C for more detail.

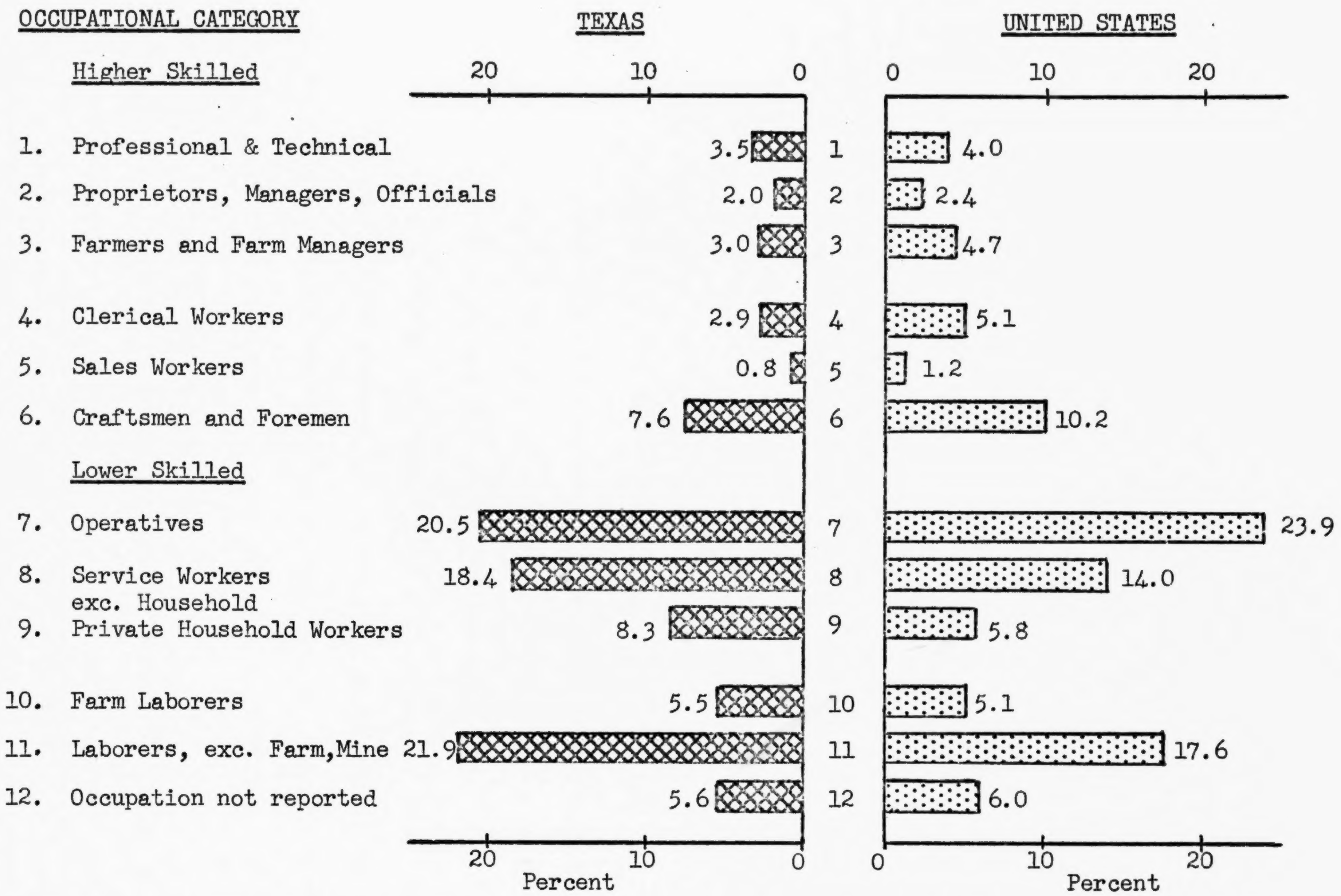

Figure 5. Occupational Distribution of Nonwhite Heads of Families in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force in Texas and the United States, 1960. (The sums of the percentages for Texas and the United States separately are 100 percent.)

while 74.6 percent (three out of four) of Texas' nonwhite family heads were in this category, again indicating that Texas nonwhites were more likely to be in relatively low-skilled jobs than their national counterparts.

Incidence of Poverty by Occupational Category.

Referring to Figure 6, it is immediately obvious that the incidence of poverty was higher among Texas nonwhite families than among those in the United States in every occupational category. Furthermore, in Texas as compared to the United States the incidence of poverty in the higher skilled categories, except for farmers and farm managers, ranged from 45 percent higher in the clerical and kindred worker category to 65 percent higher in the grouping of proprietors, managers and officials.[13] In the lower skilled categories the differential was considerably less, though in all cases Texas still had a greater incidence of poverty. The range was from only 3 percent higher among farm laborer families to 29 percent higher in the operative grouping. The much higher incidence of

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[13] These percentages are computed by determining by what proportion the Texas poverty rate is more or less than the national poverty rate. For example, among proprietors, managers and officials, the U. S. rate was 24.4 and the Texas rate 40.2, with a difference of +15.8 percentage points. Dividing 15.8 by 24.4 gives a figure of .647, which means that the incidence of poverty among Texas families headed by a Negro in the proprietor, manager and official grouping is nearly 65 percent greater than among a similarly occupied group of nonwhite family heads in the nation at large.

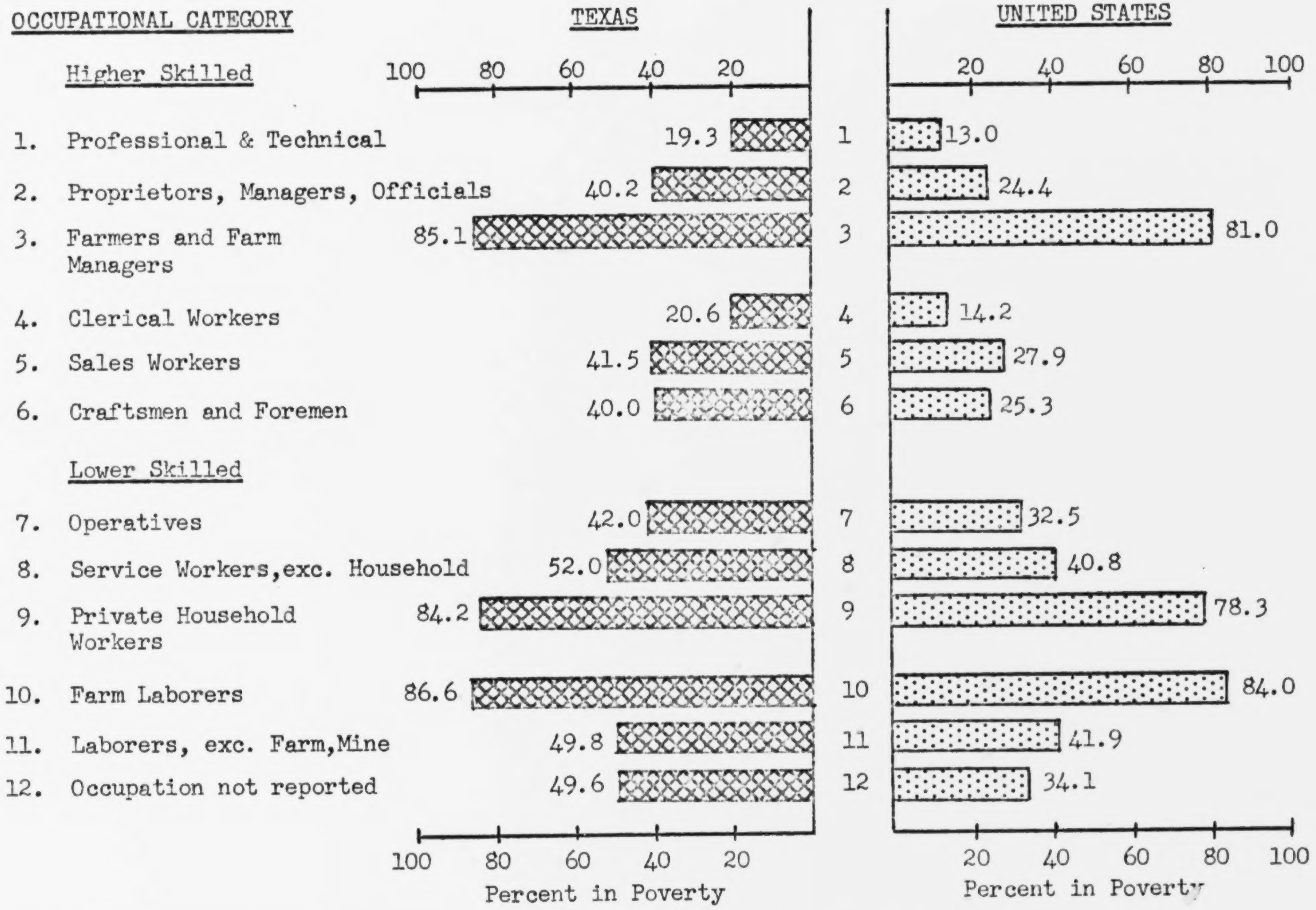

Figure 6. Incidence of Poverty for Nonwhite Families with Head in Each Occupational Category in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force in Texas and the United States, 1959.

poverty among the more highly skilled appears to be one of the significant factors in the higher rates of poverty found in the Texas families, even with the relatively low (19.8) percentage of Texas nonwhites in these categories.

The five lower skilled categories and the category farmers and farm managers had the highest incidence of poverty for both the United States and Texas nonwhites. While 71.1 percent of the nation's nonwhite heads were employed in these categories, 77.6 percent of the Texas heads were employed in them. It seems reasonable to conclude that while the proportion of Texas nonwhites in lower skilled occupations is higher than for the nation, and while the proportion in categories with generally higher incidences of poverty is somewhat higher, these are only part of the explanation of higher rates of nonwhite poverty in Texas. The higher incidence of poverty in every occupational category for Texas nonwhites, and the much higher incidence of poverty in the higher skilled occupations suggests residual causes of higher poverty rates that are not explained by the data on occupation. In other words, although lower skill levels among Texas nonwhites relative to U. S. nonwhites and the income effects of these lower levels have been indirectly shown to exist, they do not seem to account for the relatively more extensive nonwhite poverty completely. The higher rates of Texas poverty in all occupational categories must be explained by factors other than lower skill levels and their income effects.

Nonwhite and White Families in Texas

The occupational distribution of nonwhite family heads, as well as the incidence of poverty among nonwhites in various broad occupational groupings, can perhaps be better understood if their situation is related to the remainder of the state's people--the white population. In this section a color comparison is made for both the general occupational distribution and the incidence of poverty by occupation.

Occupational Distribution of Family Heads by Color.

When the occupational distribution of nonwhite families in Texas is compared with that of white families, sharp differences appear. In the first place, while 19.8 percent of nonwhite heads of families were occupied in a higher skilled job, 67.0 percent of the white family heads held high-skill occupations (see Figure 7, which provides detailed breakdowns into the twelve categories). With four out of five nonwhite families headed by a relatively low-skilled worker the much greater incidence of poverty among nonwhites as a group is not surprising.

Another view of the occupational distribution of nonwhite and white family heads is afforded by Figure 8. In this graph each occupational category is taken as a separate universe, or 100 percent, and the family heads are distinguished by color. The broken line at 10.5 percent shows the proportion of all families in Texas which were nonwhite in 1960. It is clear that in the six higher skilled occupations Negroes consistently make up no more than 5 percent of

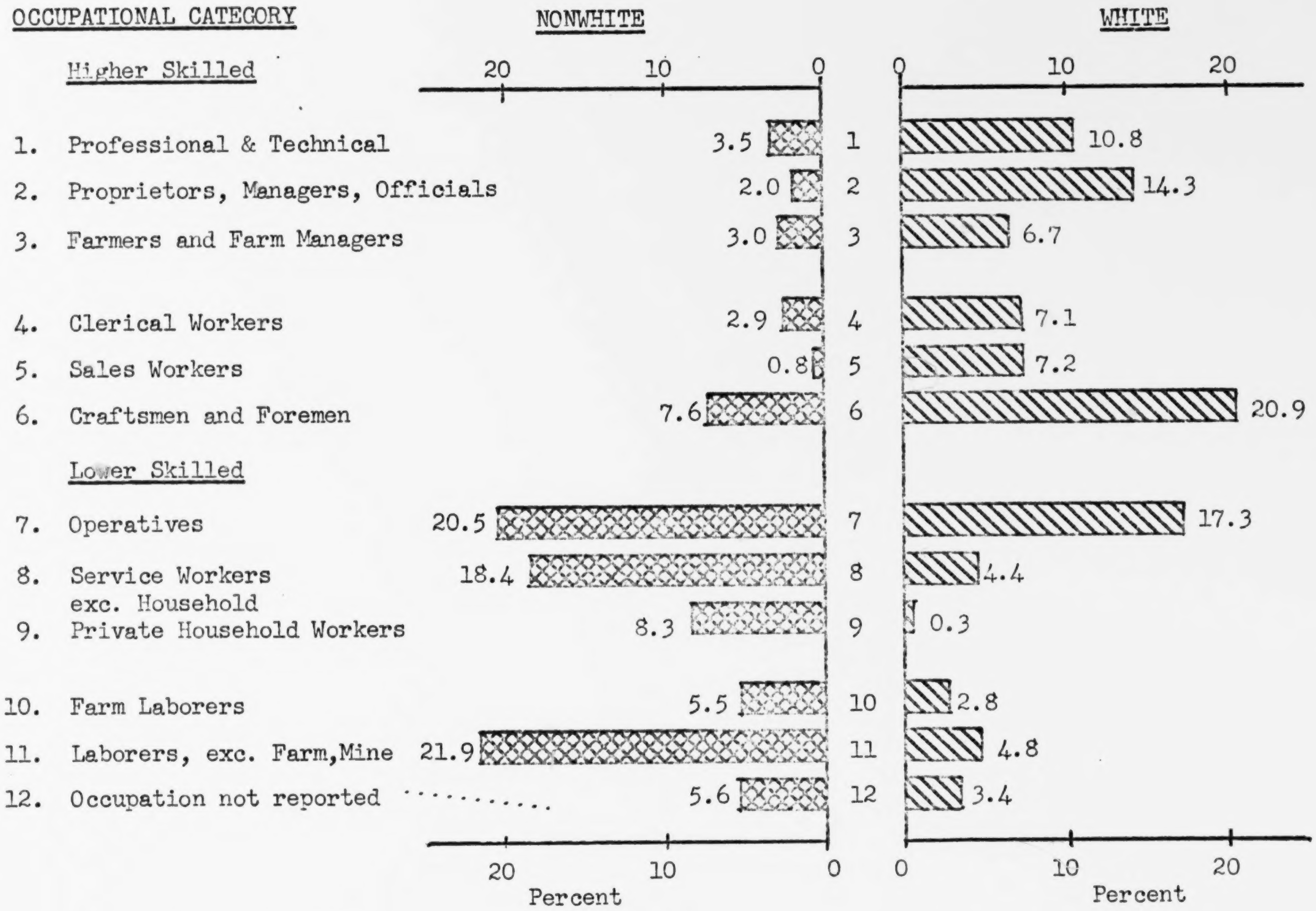

Figure 7. Occupational Distribution of Heads of Nonwhite and White Families in Texas, 1960. (The sums of the percentages for nonwhite and white groups separately are 100 percent.)

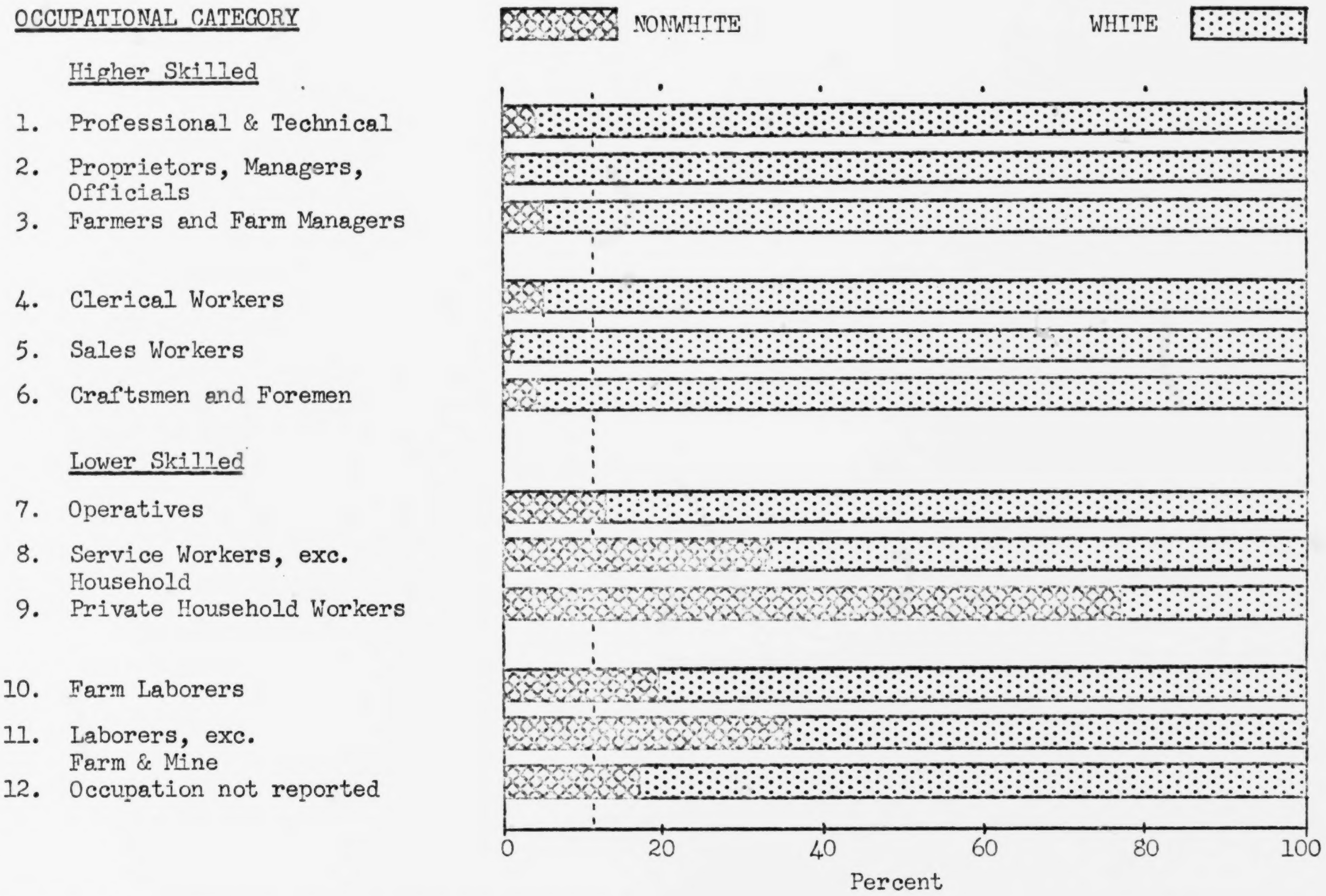

Figure 8. Relative Distribution of Nonwhite Heads of Families in Each Occupational Category in Texas, 1960. (Shading shows the relative proportion of nonwhite family heads among all heads in each occupational category separately. The broken vertical line shows the relative proportion of nonwhite family heads in the total population.)

the family heads in each grouping, or less than half the proportion they would constitute if nonwhites were distributed occupationally as whites are. On the other hand, the shortage of nonwhites in the more skilled jobs means they make up more than a proportionate share of the five lower skilled occupational groups.

The factors accounting for this wide divergence in occupational distribution are not entirely clear from the data at hand. There is certainly a correlation with the differing educational backgrounds of the two color groups, which will be dealt with separately below. There are undoubtedly also differences in skill levels and general proficiency in both mechanical and intellectual spheres owing to the different cultural backgrounds of the groups in our society, which are not measurable by the census data. In addition there remains the likelihood that there was a selective factor operative in the job market that resulted in nonwhites being less likely to be selected for higher skilled and higher status positions when white applicants were available.

To what extent such things as improved education, moderating attitudes toward hiring members of minorities, or civil rights and equal opportunity laws may have changed the occupational structure of Texas nonwhites will not be known until the results of the 1970 census are available and analyzed--perhaps 1972 or so. In the meantime the data presented above are the best and most recent obtainable.

Incidence of Poverty by Occupation and Color.

As in the comparison of United States and Texas nonwhites, the differences in the incidences of poverty by occupation between the white and nonwhite heads of families in Texas are striking. In each occupational category, the nonwhite heads experienced more, and usually considerably more, poverty than the white heads (see Figure 9). For the white heads there were seven occupational categories with an incidence of poverty below 40 percent, and six of these were below 20 percent. For nonwhite heads there were only two occupational categories with with an incidence of poverty below 40 percent, and one of these was slightly less than 20 percent. In Table 4, the incidence of poverty for each occupational category for both white and nonwhite family heads in the state is listed. Also, the nonwhite/white poverty ratio is computed for each category. This ratio indicates the number of times as high that the nonwhite incidence of poverty is as the white incidence. Except for the farmer and clerical worker categories, the incidence of poverty among nonwhites was over three times as high as the incidence among whites in the higher skilled categories. The least difference was experienced in the categories with probably the lowest skilled as well as lowest paid workers--laborers and private household workers. Thus again, the higher incidence of poverty among nonwhites in all occupational categories indicates that the higher rates of nonwhite poverty in Texas cannot be fully explained by differences in occupations and skill levels, although these differences offer a partial explanation.

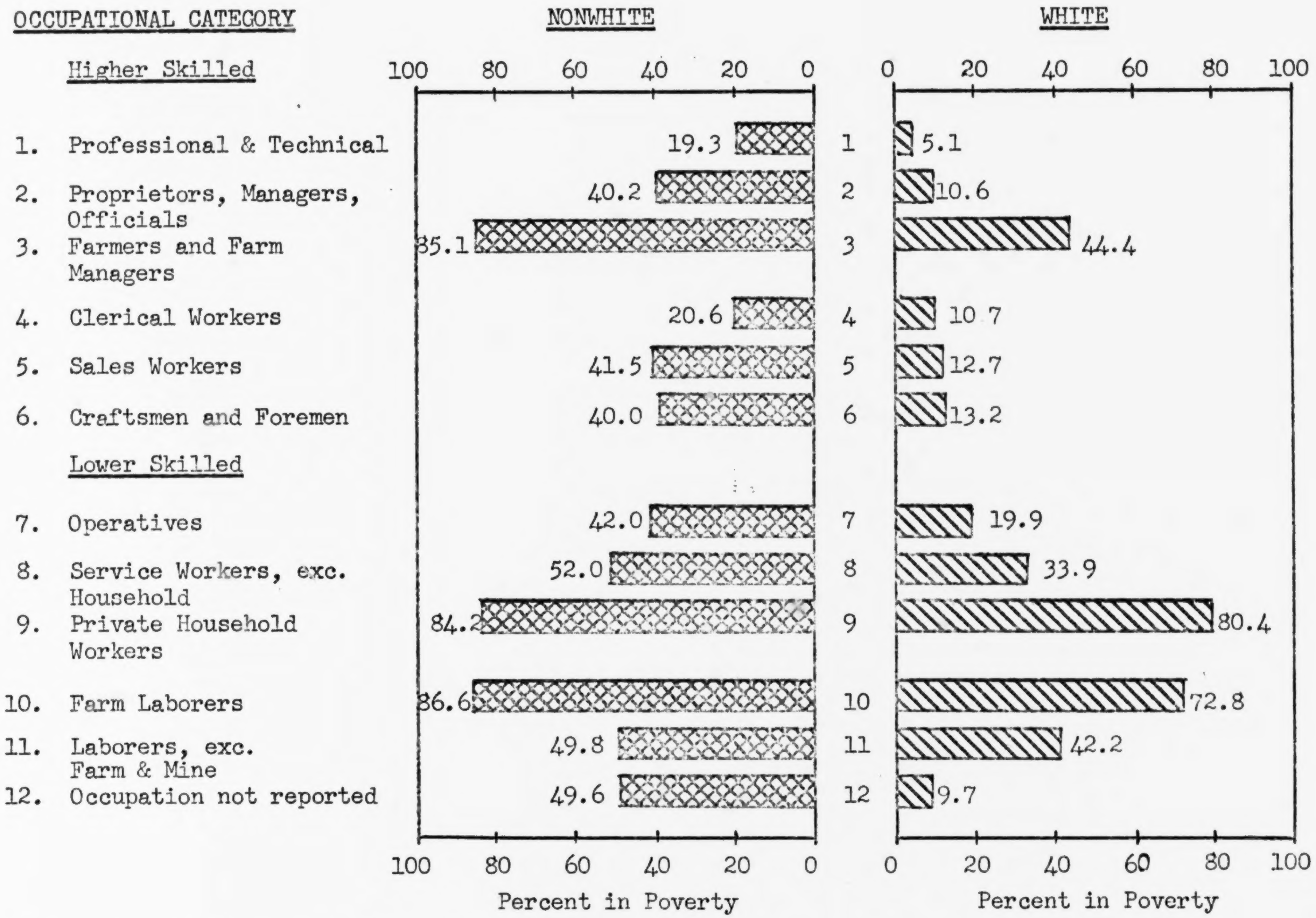

Figure 9. Incidence of Poverty for Families with Head in Each Occupational Category in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force, by Color of Head, for Texas, 1959.

Table 4. Incidence of Poverty, and Nonwhite/White Poverty Ratio by Occupational Category for Nonwhite and White Family Heads in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force, Texas, 1959.

Occupational Category	Incidence of Poverty		Nonwhite/White Poverty Ratio
	Nonwhite	White	
	-------Percent-------		
Higher Skilled			
Professional & Technical	19.3	5.1	3.8
Proprietors, Manager & Official	40.2	10.6	3.8
Farmers & Farm Managers	85.1	44.4	1.9
Clerical Workers	20.6	10.7	1.9
Sales Workers	41.5	12.7	3.3
Craftsmen & Foremen	40.0	13.2	3.0
Lower Skilled			
Operatives	42.0	19.9	2.1
Service Workers, exc. Household	52.0	33.9	1.5
Private Household Workers	84.2	80.4	1.0
Farm Laborers	86.6	72.8	1.2
Laborers, exc. Farm, Mine	49.8	42.2	1.2
Occupation not reported	49.6	21.6	2.3

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960. Volume I, Part 45-Texas, Table 145.

Summary

In this section, it has been noted that Texas nonwhites, compared to both nonwhites in the United States as a whole and to Texas whites, are occupationally disadvantaged in that proportionately fewer of them have higher skilled occupations. This implies that Texas nonwhites have generally lower training and skill levels than the nation's nonwhites as well as the Texas whites. Because lower skilled occupations are associated with low incomes, it may hastily be concluded that the higher incidence of poverty among Texas nonwhites compared to the other two groups is a function of their generally lower skill levels. While the data clearly indicate that this conclusion is partly true, they strongly suggest that it is _only_ partly true.

The higher incidence of poverty among Texas nonwhites in every occupational category, and particularly the much higher incidence of poverty in the higher skilled occupations, cannot be explained fully in terms of deficiencies in skill. The common conception that disproportionate levels of poverty among nonwhites are due to their unfortunate ignorance and lack of skill is a partial truth which is perhaps so readily accepted as a complete explanation because it leads to the conclusion that such extensive poverty unpalatable as it may be, is a matter of economic necessity. While it is not the purpose here to deny the urgent need to raise the skill levels of nonwhites, it seems appropriate to emphasize that this is not the complete answer. The problem is not that simple.

IV. EMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY

One of the everyday "explanations" of poverty is that "these poor people just don't--or won't--work." The goal of this chapter is to explore the employment of family members and to present the census data as it relates to Texas nonwhite families and their position relative to the nonwhites of the whole nation, and relative to white families in Texas.

Nonwhites in Texas and the United States

Texas nonwhite families living in poverty have relatively more earners on the average than the poor nonwhite families of the United States. Figure 10 shows the percentages of the poor nonwhite families of the United States and Texas which had no earner,[14] one earner, two earners, and three or more earners in 1959. To begin with, 84.8 percent of the poor Texas families had one or more earners compared to 79.7 percent of the nation's poor families. The proportion of families with no earner was one-third higher for the U. S. than Texas, indicating that not working was a more important factor in

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[14] Families may have had no earner during the census reference year due to retirement, disability, living on investment income and other explanations in addition to simply not working. Such families had no member who reported any earned income during 1959. The number of earners is the number of members 14 years of age or older who reported any earned income such as salary, wages, tips, commissions, etc., during the year. It does not necessarily mean steady income.

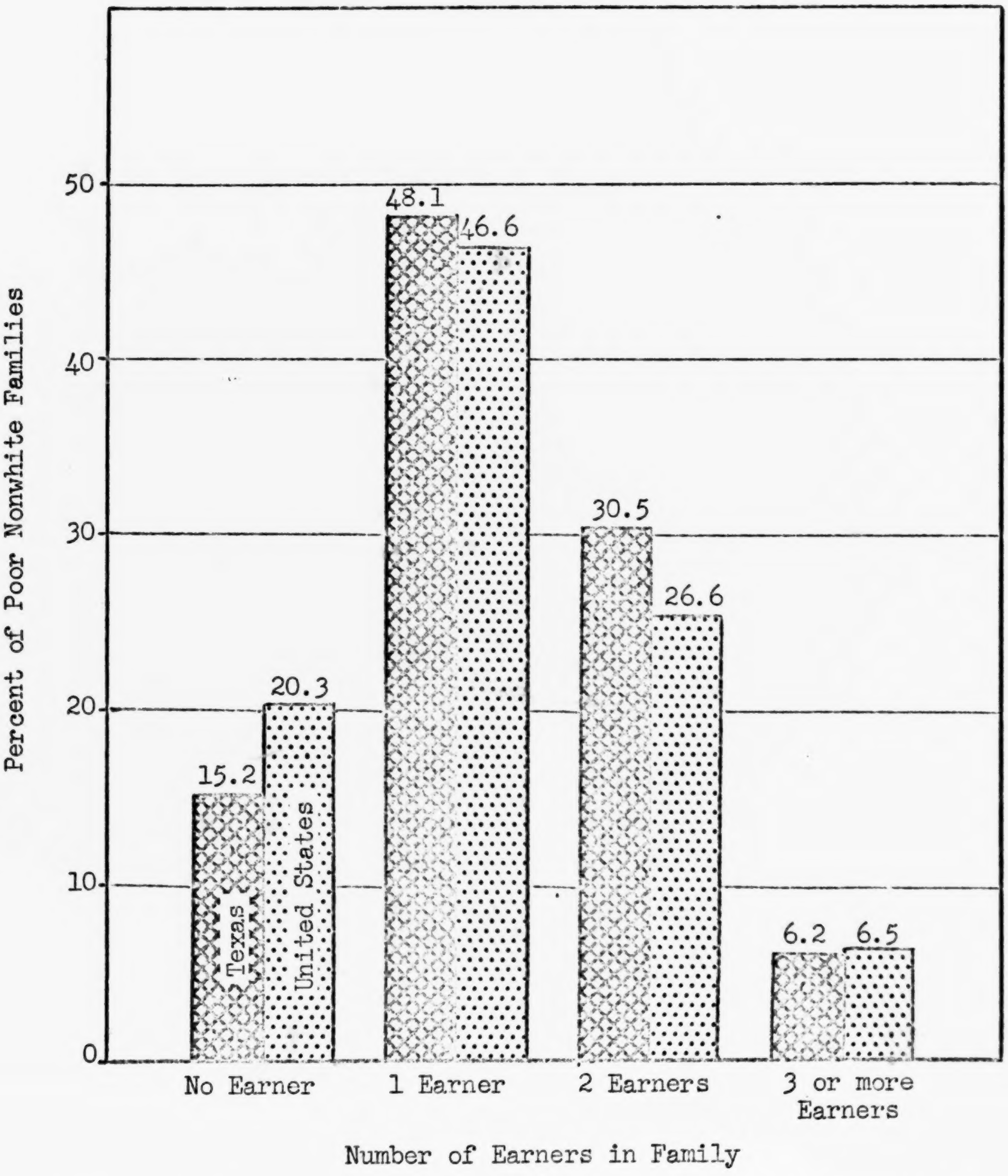

Figure 10. Relative Distribution of All Poor Nonwhite Families, by Number of Earners in the Family, for Texas and the United States, 1959. (Total of Texas and United States percentages each add to 100 percent)

nonwhite poverty in the nation than it was in the state. The proportion of families with one earner was about 3 percent higher in Texas; with two earners, about 15 percent higher in Texas; and for three or more earners, about 5 percent lower.

Roughly half the poor families in Texas and the nation had one earner, roughly one-third and one-fourth, respectively, had two earners, and over 6 percent of both had three or more earners. This seems to indicate that nonwhites in both the U. S. and Texas rely heavily on additional family earners to increase incomes. The data also imply that the higher rates of nonwhite poverty in Texas are not caused by a lower rate of participation in the labor force, and thus this factor must be discarded as the basic explanation of the higher rates of poverty of Texas nonwhites compared to those in the nation.

Whites and Nonwhites in Texas

Poor nonwhite families in Texas appear to have significantly more earners proportionately than the poor white families (Figure 11). While 84.8 percent of the nonwhite families have one or more earners, 76.6 percent of the white families have one or more. The proportion of white families with no earner is almost 54 percent higher than that of the nonwhite families with no earner. More than half the white and almost half the nonwhite families have one earner. Less than one-fifth of the white and almost one-third of the nonwhite

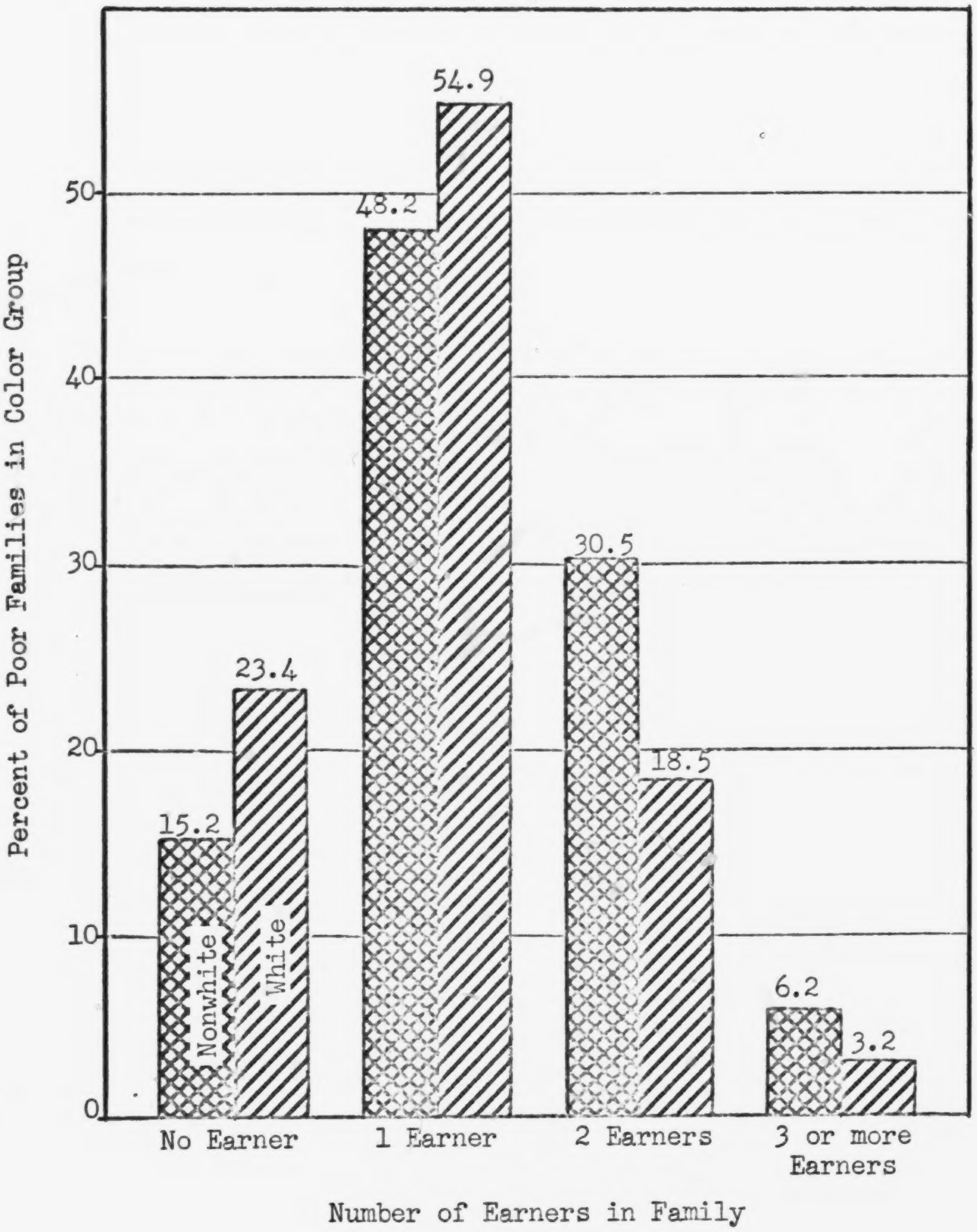

Figure 11. Relative Distribution of All Poor Nonwhite and White Families, by Number of Earners in the Family, for Texas, 1959. (Total Nonwhite and White percentages each add to 100 percent.)

families had two earners. The proportion of nonwhite families with three or more earners was nearly twice as high as that of the white families.

Here again, the disparity between the rates of poverty among white compared to nonwhite families in Texas apparently is not caused by lower rates of participation in the labor force among nonwhites. Nonwhite families in poverty appear to have substantially higher rates of participation than the white families.

The incidence of poverty within any particular number-of-earners category is presented in Table 5. In the no-earner category low incomes were the rule among both nonwhite and white families as would be expected, but the situation is worse among nonwhites than whites. In the no-earner category, 98 percent of the nonwhite families had less than $3,000 income compared to 84 percent of the whites. Except for the no-earner category the incidence of poverty among white families with one or more earners never exceeds 27 percent, while among nonwhites it ranged from 32 percent with three or more earners up to almost 68 percent when there was just one earner. Thus even the average three-earner nonwhite family was more likely to have been poor than the average one-earner white family. Of course it is necessary to point out that in these data the steadiness of the income is not controlled, nor is the size of the family nor the occupation of those who were earning--and these are all relevant factors. However, the over-simplified statement sometimes offered to explain poverty among nonwhites as due to simply not working is clearly discounted.

Table 5. Incidence of Poverty and Extreme Poverty Among Families with Various Numbers of Earners, for White and Nonwhite Families in Texas, 1959.

Number of Earners	Families in Poverty (Income Below $3,000)		Families in Extreme Poverty (Income Below $2,000)	
	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White
	--Percent--			
All families	57.7	25.2	38.9	15.4
No earner	98.0	84.1	92.7	72.6
1 earner	67.7	26.7	45.8	15.0
2 earners	45.1	13.8	25.2	6.5
3 or more earners	32.1	10.8	18.1	5.0
	--Number--			
All families	152,704	535,261	103,058	327,794
No earner	23,172	125,371	21,926	108,123
1 earner	73,531	293,716	49,794	164,935
2 earners	46,552	99,025	25,998	46,760
3 or more earners	9,449	17,149	5,340	7,976

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960. Volume I, Part 45, Table 142.

Other factors related to low family incomes are periodic unemployment, layoffs, and changes in jobs with sizable unpaid intervals between successive jobs. Unfortunately, again, data on these matters are not available for family units--only for individuals. But from the census some useful information on the employment experience of the husband in husband-wife families is available.[15]

Assuming that to have worked 50 or more weeks during 1959 represents reasonably full employment--and recognizing that this simple measure does not reveal how many hours or days were worked in a week, nor how many different employers or jobs were included during the 50 or more weeks--it is possible to show how the experience of fairly regular work is related to poverty. Among all husband-wife families with 3 or more members, the proportion in which the husband worked 50 or more weeks was 56.6 percent for nonwhites, and 74.8 percent for whites, indicating a great deal more work stability among white family heads (see Table 6). The same general difference in steady work is found regardless of the number of earners, when nonwhite and white families are compared: about 60 percent of nonwhite husbands and 75 percent of white husbands worked a minimum of 50 weeks.

Among the low-income families the difference between nonwhite and white was much less marked. For poor nonwhite husband-wife families where the husband worked, only 44 percent had a steady earning

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[15] In order to standardize the nature of the "family" being discussed, and to eliminate possible biases of composition and size, the "husband-wife family" will be used frequently in this report. The husband-wife family is a group composed of a minimum of the husband and his wife living together, with such other persons related by blood or marriage as may live in the same household. This excludes broken families where either spouse is missing for any reason, but includes any family with both spouses (whether of the first marriage or remarriage). This type of family is probably what the average person thinks of in using the word "family."

Table 6. Relative Number of Husbands in 3-or-more Person Husband-Wife Families in Texas Who Worked 50 or More Weeks in 1959, by Poverty Status and Color.*

Earner characteristic	3-or-more-person husband-wife families			
	Percent of heads who worked 50 or more weeks		Percent of heads of low-income families who worked 50 or more wks.	
	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White
All 3-or-more persons families	56.6	74.8	38.2	44.9
Husband an earner	61.2	78.0	44.0	52.3
Husband only earner	62.1	80.1	49.3	56.4
2 or more earners	58.7	74.4	36.8	41.8

Source: Compiled and computed from a special tabulation of data from a 5 percent sample of the Texas population prepared by the Bureau of the Census and comparable to national data published in Tables 1 and 2 of United States Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Sources and Structure of Family Income. Final Report PC (2)-4C.

*Husband-wife families are all those where husband and wife lived in the same household.

situation while 52 percent of poor working white husbands had regular work. It is apparent that poor families have a greater proportion of only off-and-on earners, but the proportion of low-income families with two or more earners which include a steadily-working husband is surprisingly high--36.8 and 41.8 percent, respectively, for such non-white and white families.[16]

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[16] Data for nonwhite and white husband-wife families are presented in Table 3 of Appendix C, with detail by size of family, number and identification of earners, percent working 50 or more weeks, and poverty status.

Further light may be shed on the last statement by analyzing only those families in which the husband worked at least 50 weeks during the year. These might be called steadily-employed families. From Table 7 one can see that about one out of three nonwhite husbands who worked regularly still found himself heading a family in the poverty bracket. When the husband was the sole supporter of his family, 43.3 percent of the families had less than $3,000 total income, and even if there was at least one additional earner, over one-fifth (22.3 percent) of such steady-employment families were poor. On the other hand, only about one in ten (10.4 percent) of steadily-employed white husbands headed a poverty-level family, and an additional earner or more cut this figure to 6.3 percent.[17]

The data indicate that unemployment or interruption of jobs and earning are common factors among both nonwhite and white families with incomes under $3,000, and that less-than-steady employment is more common among nonwhites. Part of the extensive poverty among Texas nonwhites is thus accounted for by not having steady work, for whatever cause. But the data also show that among nonwhites, around a third of the steadily working men still do not pass above the poverty line--and this fact is not explained by the statistics. It may be due to underemployment such as that experienced by day laborers, to differential wages, or to still other factors.

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[17] Data on husbands of husband-wife families grouped by occupation, steadiness of work, and poverty status is presented in Table 4 of Appendix C.

Table 7. Relative Number of Husbands in Husband-Wife Families Who Worked 50 or more Weeks in 1959 and had Total Family Income Under $3,000 in Texas, by Color.*

Size of family and earner characteristics	Percent of all husbands working 50 or more weeks who had family income under $3,000	
	Nonwhite	White
All husband-wife families	32.4	11.7
2 persons	37.4	15.7
3 or 4 persons	30.3	9.7
5 or more persons	30.9	11.6
3 or more persons		
Husband an earner	30.6	10.4
Husband only earner	43.3	13.8
2 or more earners	22.3	6.3

Source: Compiled and computed from a special tabulation of data from a 5 percent sample of the Texas population prepared by the Bureau of the Census, and comparable to national data published in Tables 1 and 2 of United States Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Sources and Structure of Family Income. Final Report PC (2)-4C.

*Husband-wife families are all those where husband and wife lived in the same household.

Summary

Poor Texas nonwhites have proportionately more family members employed than either nonwhites in the nation at large, or Texas whites. Although they have fewer households with no earner, poverty is much more common among them.

Nonwhites in Texas had a more unstable work experience than white families, and this is undoubtedly one of the factors resulting in low incomes, whether due to illness, family instability, irresponsibility or discriminatory hiring and firing, or any combination of the above. The data do not provide any way to determine reasons for spotty work experience. On the other hand the findings also reveal that low incomes are common among the steady working nonwhite families, and this is as yet unexplained. At any rate the above paragraphs do not support an oversimplified but still wide-spread conception of nonwhite poverty as simply springing from laziness and unwillingness to work.

V. EDUCATION AND POVERTY

In the discussion of nonwhite occupations, it was pointed out that the larger proportion of Texas nonwhite family heads in lower skilled occupations (74.6 percent) compared to U. S. nonwhite heads in these occupations (66.4 percent) seemed to indicate that Texas nonwhites have a generally lower skill level than those in the nation. If Texas nonwhites do in fact have lower skill levels than U. S. nonwhites, then their higher concentration in lower skilled occupations is explained, and the higher rate of poverty among them compared to U. S. nonwhites is partially explained. In order to test the validity of these hypotheses, educational attainment of Texas and U. S. nonwhites will be compared. Educational attainment is closely related to general skill level and is the closest approximation of a measure of skill level available in the census data. A comparison will also be made between whites and nonwhites in Texas to determine what differences exist between the two groups.

It is generally accepted that educational attainment is one of the most important factors determining income levels and therefore also the existence or absence of poverty. While a clear case can be made that on the average the person with more education makes more money, this is unfortunately a great oversimplification. There are many other variables in the picture, including the quality and content of the education summarized in the "years of school completed" statistic, the social skills of the individual, the social status of the person or his family (age group, religious, class, ethnic, and racial identifications, for example), the occupation he follows (whether by choice or chance), and the quality of his ambition and perserverance.

In the light of these and other intervening variables operating between educational attainment and income attainment, it is nevertheless appropriate to take a look at the relation of education to low-income levels. This will be done by comparing the incidence of poverty at different levels of educational attainment for Texas and U. S. nonwhites, and for whites and nonwhites in Texas.

Nonwhites in Texas and the United States

Educational Attainment.

The educational attainment of heads of husband-wife families between 25 and 64 years old, in terms of years of school completed, is the best currently available index of education. This information is presented for nonwhites in Texas and the United States in Figure 12 and Table 8. The essential finding is that the proportion of the Texas and U. S. family heads is similar for each level of educational attainment. A slightly higher proportion of the Texas heads had less than 12 years of school and a slightly higher proportion of U. S. heads had 12 years or more of school. The differences are insufficient to justify the conclusion that Texas nonwhites have significantly lower levels of educational attainment (and therefore skills) than U. S.

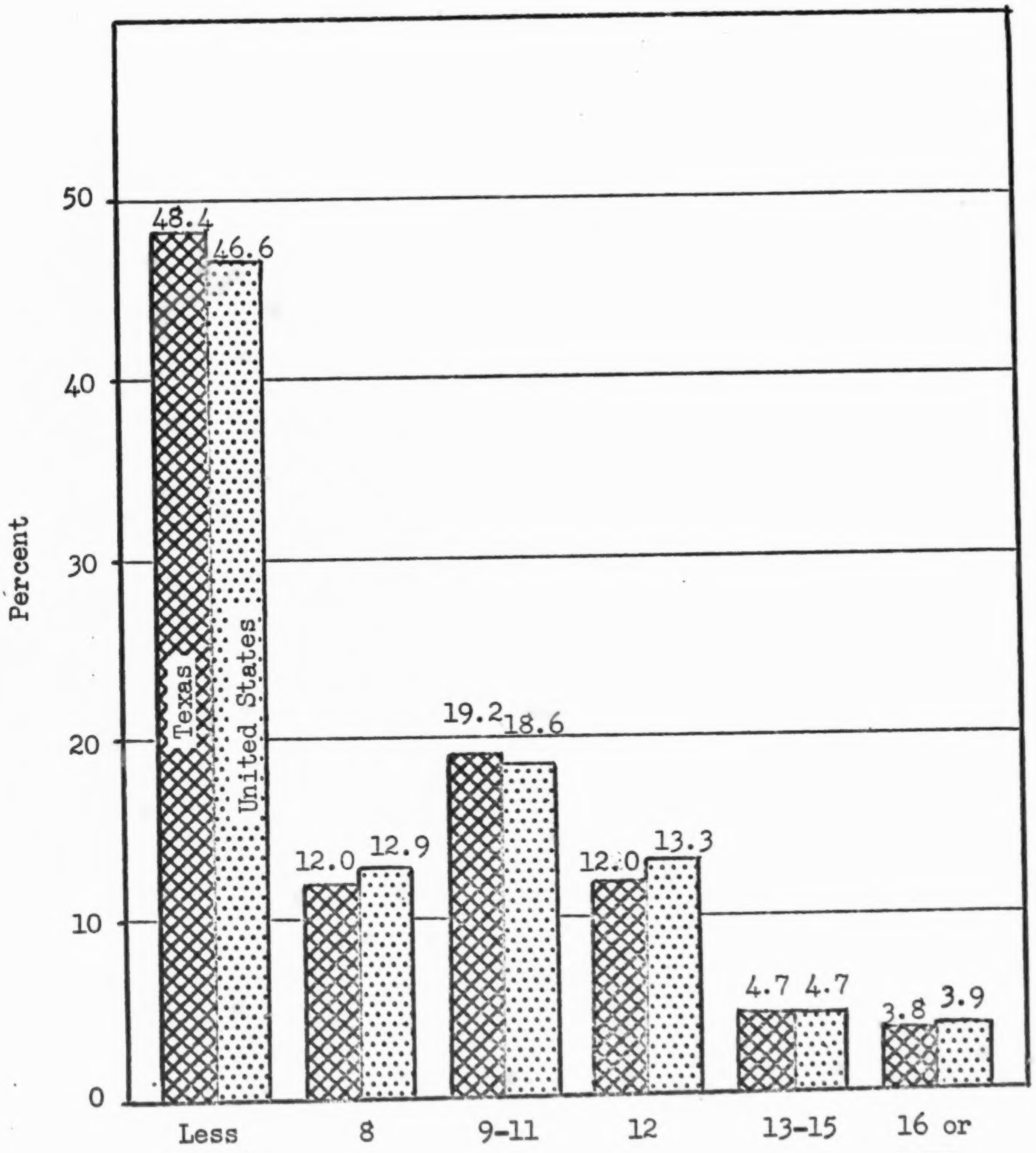

Figure 12. Percent Distribution of Nonwhite Husband-Wife Families with Heads Aged 25-64, by Years of School Completed by Head, for Texas and the United States, 1960. (Total of Texas and United States percentages each add to 100 percent.)

Table 8. Nonwhite Heads of Husband-Wife Families Aged 25-64 Years, and Incidence of Poverty, by Years of School Completed, Texas and the United States, 1959-1960.*

Years of School Completed By Head	All Families		Poor Families (Income Below $3,000)	
	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent of education category
TEXAS	165,666	100.0	75,191	45.4
Less than 8 years	80,210	48.4	44,145	55.0
8 years	19,904	12.0	9,271	46.6
9-11 years	31,717	19.2	12,819	40.4
12 years	19,882	12.0	6,400	32.2
13-15 years	7,707	4.6	2,007	26.0
16 or more years	6,246	3.8	549	8.8
UNITED STATES	2,680,210	100.0	962,945	35.9
Less than 8 years	1,248,561	46.6	635,147	50.9
8 years	345,118	12.9	108,682	31.5
9-11 years	499,479	18.6	130,716	26.2
12 years	356,040	13.3	63,166	17.7
13-15 years	126,826	4.7	17,774	14.0
16 or more years	104,186	3.9	7,460	7.2

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Sources and Structure of Family Income. Final Report PC (2)-4C, Table 3, and comparable data for Texas from a special tabulation made by the Bureau of the Census.

*Education as of April, 1960, with income for 1959.

nonwhites. The apparent explanation of the higher proportion of Texas than U. S. nonwhites in lower skilled occupations--because their general skill levels are lower--therefore seems to be invalid. The higher rates of poverty among Texas nonwhites cannot be traced to lower skill levels, at least not on the basis of educational attainment.

There remains, however, the possibility that the quality of skills represented by a given level of education is higher for U. S. than Texas nonwhites. This would imply that nonwhites in Texas have less adequate educational facilities and instruction than those in the nation in general. Although we are not able to look into this question here, an examination of it is certainly essential for an adequate understanding of the causes of differentials in poverty.

Incidence of Poverty by Educational Attainment.

The relationship between educational attainment and poverty is illustrated for nonwhite heads of husband-wife families between 25 and 64 years old, for the U. S. and Texas in Figure 13 (Table 8). The solid line represents how the percentage of families in poverty declines as years of schooling increases for the nonwhite heads in Texas. The dashed curve represents the same relationship for nonwhite heads in the U. S. The first point to note is that the incidence of poverty is higher for Texas than for the U. S. heads at every level of educational attainment. While the rate of decline of the solid (Texas) curve is about the same as that of the dashed (U. S.) one over the

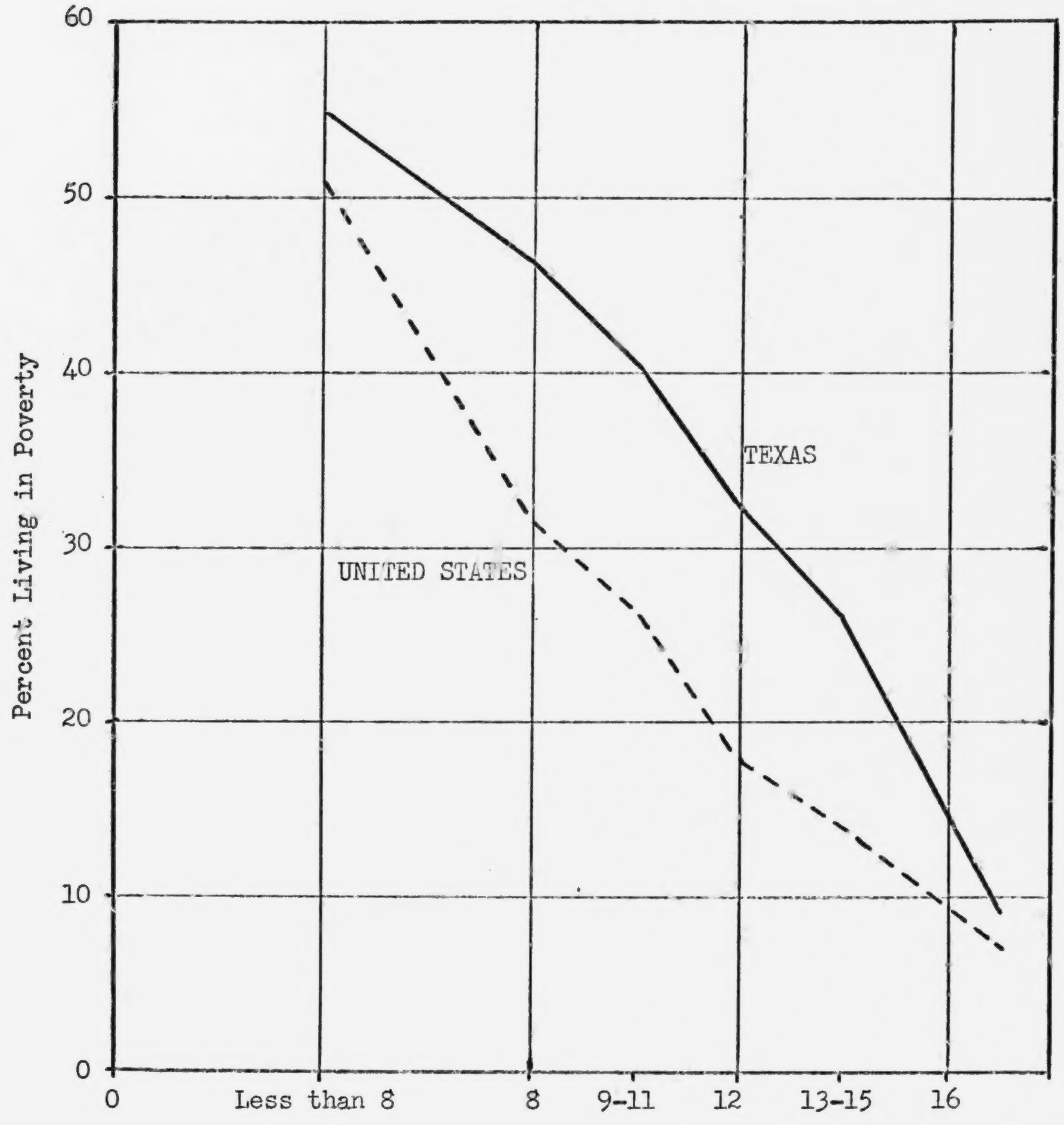

Figure 13. Incidence of Poverty of Nonwhite Husband-Wife Families with Head Aged 25-64, by Years of School Completed by Head, for Texas and the United States, 1959.

entire range, there are differences in rate of decline for different segments of the curves. Over the range from less than 8 years to 12 years of schooling, the incidence of poverty declines an average of 2.8 percent per year of additional education for Texas heads while it declines 4.1 percent per year of additional education for U. S. heads. Over the range from 12 years to 16 or more years of schooling, the decline in the incidence of poverty was 5.8 percent per additional year of education for Texas nonwhites and 2.6 percent for U. S. nonwhites.

Therefore, although the effects of additional schooling of heads reduce family poverty by roughly the same rate over the entire range of educational levels presented for both U. S. and Texas nonwhites, there are important differences in rates of decline for parts of the range. Additional schooling up to 12 years seems to have a much more favorable effect in terms of the alleviation of poverty for U. S. than for Texas nonwhites. It is only additional schooling beyond 12 years that has a significantly more favorable effect on Texas than U. S. nonwhites. Nevertheless, at the level of 16 years of education or more, the incidence of family poverty for Texas nonwhites is still over 22 percent higher than that of U. S. nonwhites. Although this figure is fairly high, it is considerably lower than those for all other levels of education with the exception of less than 8 years. Texas nonwhites with 8 to 11 years of schooling experienced about 50 percent more, and those with 12 to 15 years of schooling over 80 percent more family poverty than the U. S. nonwhites. We must conclude that either Texas nonwhites achieve lower skill levels for given levels of educational attainment than U. S. nonwhites, or that there are other factors preventing them from reaping the economic gains normally associated with education.

Whites and Nonwhites in Texas

Educational Attainment.

The educational attainment of white and nonwhite heads of husband-wife families between 25 and 64 years old is depicted in Figure 14 (See also Table 9). In contrast to the general similarity of nonwhites in Texas and the nation, there are considerable differences in the educational attainment and therefore the skill levels of the white and nonwhite heads in Texas. While almost half the nonwhites had less than 8 years of school, only a little over one-quarter of the whites did. About 43 percent of the whites and only about 20 percent of the nonwhites had 12 years or more of schooling. Only 8.5 percent of the nonwhites had at least some higher education compared to 21.8 percent of the whites. There is no question that the nonwhite heads have generally lower levels of educational attainment and therefore also lower skill levels than the white heads. This condition is almost certainly one of the critical factors related to the higher poverty rates of nonwhites compared to whites in Texas.

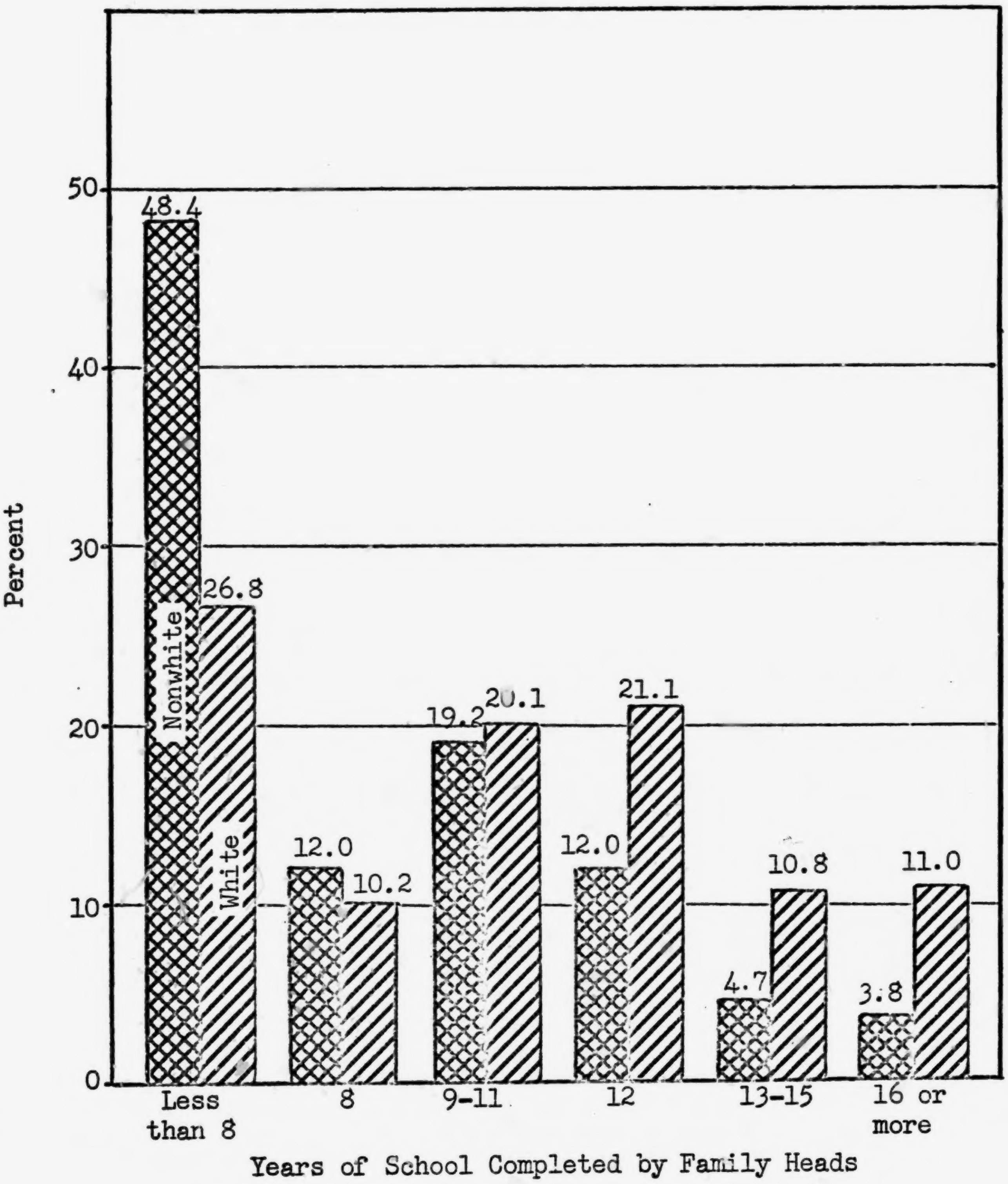

Figure 14. Percent Distribution of Nonwhite and White Husband-Wife Families with Heads Aged 25-64, by Number of Years of School Completed by Head, for Texas, 1960. (Total of Nonwhite and White percentages each add to 100 percent.)

Table 9. Nonwhite and White Heads of Husband-Wife Families Aged 25-64 Years, and Incidence of Poverty, by Years of School Completed, Texas, 1959-1960.*

Color and Years of School Completed by Head	All Families		Poor Families (Income Below $3,000)	
	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent of education category
NONWHITE	165,666	100.0	75,191	45.4
Less than 8 years	80,210	48.4	44,145	55.0
8 years	19,904	12.0	9,271	46.6
9-11 years	31,717	19.2	12,819	40.4
12 years	19,882	12.0	6,400	32.2
13-15 years	7,707	4.6	2,007	26.0
16 or more years	6,246	3.8	549	8.8
WHITE	1,582,560	100.0	266,443	16.8
Less than 8 years	388,605	24.6	148,422	38.2
8 years	159,158	10.0	32,187	20.2
9-11 years	319,099	20.2	41,816	13.1
12 years	348,778	22.0	27,273	7.8
13-15 years	180,986	11.4	10,723	5.9
16 or more years	185,934	11.8	6,022	3.2

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Sources and Structure of Family Income. Final Report PC (2)-4C, Table 3, and comparable data for Texas from a special tabulation made by the Bureau of the Census.

*Education as of April, 1960, with income for 1959.

Incidence of Poverty by Educational Attainment.

In Figure 15, the curves indicate how family poverty declines as years of schooling increase for nonwhite and white husband-wife families, respectively, with heads between 25 and 64 years of age. The relationship between the two curves is similar to that in Figure 13, except that the gap between the two is much wider, indicating a much higher incidence of family poverty for nonwhites than whites, at every level of educational attainment. For each level of schooling from 8 to 16 years or more, nonwhite families experienced more than twice as much poverty as white families. As years of education increase, the relative gap increases, up to the level of 16 years or more of schooling. In other words, nonwhite heads with increasingly higher educational attainments experienced a decreasing incidence of poverty, but when compared to whites the resulting economic progress was very poor.

From Figure 15 and Table 10 it is apparent that the proportion of families living at incomes below the poverty line decreases much more dramatically for white families with every educational advancement. The only exception occurs for those with a college education or better, where the incidence of poverty among white families is already so low as to invite little further improvement.

While in both color groupings, better education results in less poverty, the economic benefits of education accrue unevenly to whites and nonwhites, and may result in less of an incentive for nonwhites to continue their education. In other words, the high rate of nonwhite

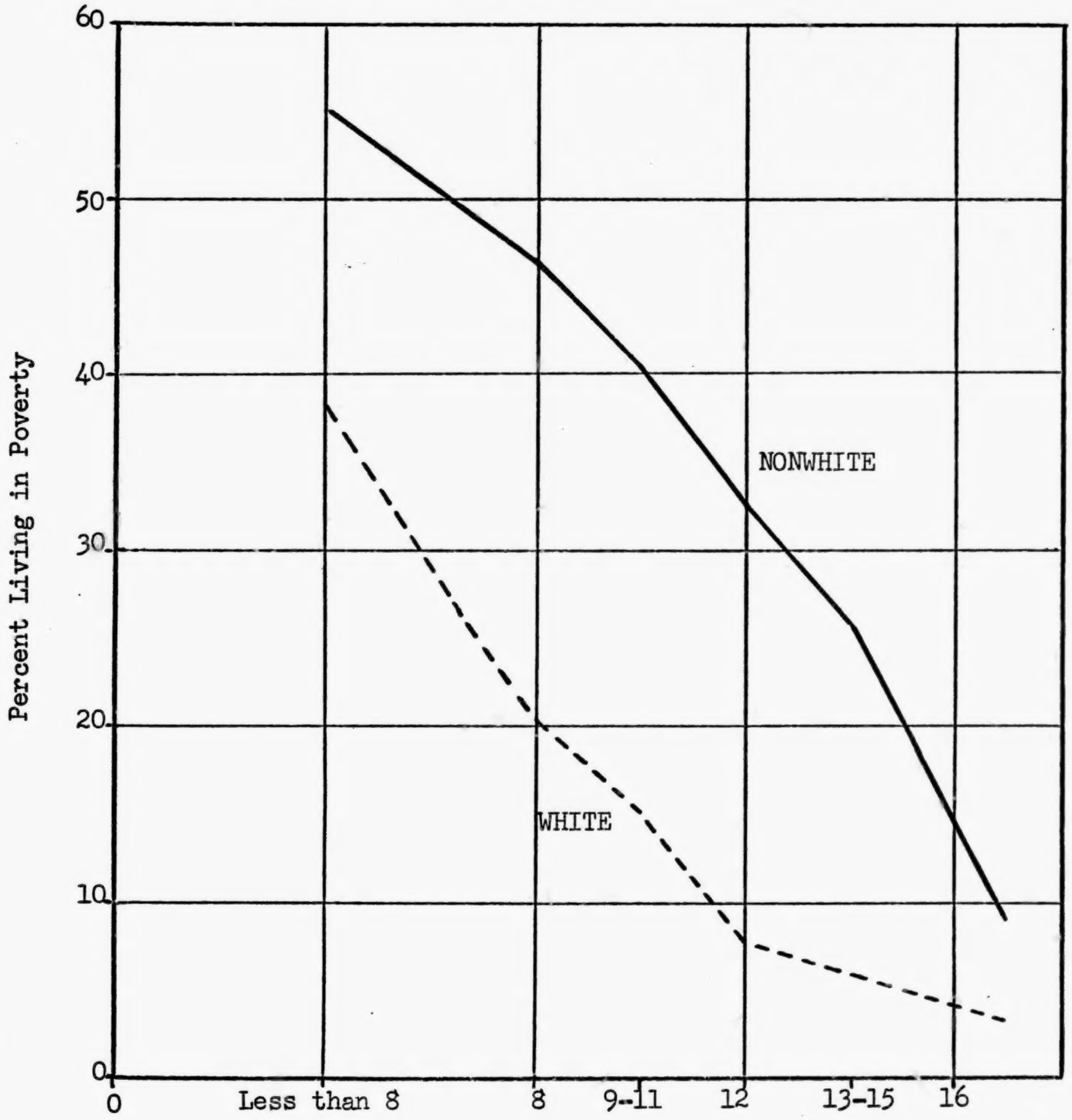

Figure 15. Incidence of Poverty of Nonwhite and White Husband-Wife Families with Head Aged 25-64, by Years of School Completed by Head, for Texas, 1959.

Table 10. Percentage Decline in Incidence of Poverty Among Nonwhite and White Husband-Wife Families Aged 25-64 Years, by Improvement in Years of School Completed by Husband, Texas, 1959-1960.

Educational Improvement		Percent Decrease in the Incidence of Poverty	
From	To	Nonwhite	White
Less than 8 years	8 years	15.3	47.1
8 years	9-11 years	13.3	35.2
9-11 years	12 years	20.3	40.5
12 years	13-15 years	19.3	24.4
13-15 years	16 + years	66.2	45.8

Source: Computed from data in Table 8.

dropouts may be in part a rational manifestation of this inequitable situation. The lower returns to schooling below the level of higher education also have the effect of limiting the nonwhite's ability to provide a higher education for his children due to his own limited income.

Compared to white family heads then, nonwhite heads have generally lower educational and therefore skill levels, and lower earning ability is an important factor in the higher rate of poverty among them. Another important factor related to nonwhite poverty is the lower returns from education which accrue to nonwhites. The lower quality of educational facilities and the institutional barricades preventing nonwhites from obtaining jobs with adequate incomes are probably the important factors involved in lower educational returns to nonwhites, and indirectly in their lower general educational attainment and lower skill levels.

Summary

As indicated by Table 8, Texas nonwhites have educational levels which are very similar to U. S. nonwhites. However, at each level of education, they experience a higher incidence of poverty which cannot be attributed to years of education, but which may be associated with quality of education. The reduction in the incidence of poverty at increasing levels of education is generally less for Texas than for U. S. nonwhites.

When educational levels of whites and nonwhites in Texas are compared (Table 9), it is found that the nonwhites have considerably less education, a situation which would seem to contribute substantially to the differentials in poverty rates between the two groups. But it is also found that nonwhites at each level of education have a much higher incidence of poverty than whites. Again it must be concluded that factors in addition to educational attainment and training are involved.

VI. FAMILY STRUCTURE AND POVERTY

There are several family characteristics which are commonly associated with poverty which have not yet been dealt with here. Families with aged heads (65 or over) and families which are headed by either men or women alone, without a spouse present, have obvious economic problems which increase the likelihood of poverty occurring among them. The aged are at a disadvantage in the labor market and have limited earning power. Mothers without a husband in the home often have limited earning power if they have small children to care for, and fathers without wives in the home typically incur additional expenses for child care and housekeeping.

Distribution of Aged and Lone Family Heads Among the Poor

Table 11 illustrates the extent to which poor nonwhite families in Texas and the United States, as well as poor white families in Texas, are disadvantaged by the presence of aged family heads and lone family heads. The differences between poor nonwhite families in Texas and those in the nation are relatively minor. Less than one-fifth of poor nonwhite families in either Texas or the nation have aged family heads, although there are proportionately more such families in Texas than in the nation. The proportion of poor nonwhite families in both Texas and the nation with lone family heads is roughly one-third, with Texas having a somewhat lower proportion than the nation.

Table 11. Distribution of Selected Characteristics Associated with Poverty Among Total Poor Families: for Poor Nonwhite Families in the United States and for Poor Nonwhite and White Families in Texas, 1959-1960.

Selected Characteristics*	Percent of Total Poor Families with Each Selected Characteristic		
	U.S. Families	Texas Families	
	Nonwhite	Nonwhite	White
Head 65 years or over	17.2	19.3	26.8
Not a husband-wife family			
Total	36.3	32.0	19.9
Female Head	32.1	28.2	16.4
Male Head	4.2	3.8	3.5
Number of poor families	2,035,223	152,704	535,261

Source: Compiled and computed from U.S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960, Vol. 1, Part 1, Table 224 and Part 45, Table 139.

* The characteristics listed involve some overlapping by including some of the same families.

It is obvious from Table 11 that spouseless heads of families are a fairly common occurrence among poor nonwhite families, and that this problem is more serious in extent than that of aged heads among the nonwhites. The situation among poor white families in Texas is just the reverse. The proportion of aged heads among these families is notably greater than the proportion of lone heads of families. Comparing the poor nonwhite families with the poor white families in Texas, it can be seen that the proportion of aged heads is greater among the poor whites, while the proportion of lone family heads is greater among the nonwhites.

While Table 11 includes only two of the family characteristics believed to be closely associated with low incomes, these two factors have long been considered serious problems. The differences noted, particularly those between poor white and nonwhite families, indicate the need for different approaches in attempts to alleviate poverty within each group.

Incidence of Poverty Among Aged Heads and Lone Heads of Families

In Table 12, the incidence of poverty among families with aged heads and lone heads is presented for Texas whites and nonwhites, and for U. S. nonwhites. The most notable pattern emerging from the data is that without exception proportionately more Texas nonwhite families in each category experience poverty than do U. S. nonwhite families; and a much greater proportion of nonwhite families than white families (within each category) in Texas experience poverty. Nonwhite families in Texas which were headed

Table 12. Relative Incidence of Poverty Among Families with Selected Characteristics: Nonwhite and White Families in Texas, and Nonwhite Families in the United States, 1959-1960.

Selected Characteristics*	Poor Families (Income Under $3,000) in Texas					
	United States		Texas			
	Nonwhite		Nonwhite		White	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Head 65 years or over	351,148	70.9	29,452	80.7	143,413	56.4
Not a husband-wife family						
Total	738,048	69.0	48,778	78.8	106,314	51.0
Female Head	651,707	73.3	42,999	82.1	87,760	54.5
Male Head	86,341	47.8	5,779	60.4	18,554	39.2

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960. Vol. 1, Part 1, Table 224, and Part 45, Table 139.

* The characteristics listed involve some overlapping by including some of the same families.

either by persons aged 65 or older, or by a woman instead of a man were extremely likely to have a poverty-level income--about four out of five such families had incomes less than $3,000. In the country as a whole somewhat more than 70 percent of such families were poor, which is not as high a percentage as for Texas in spite of its magnitude. More than half of the white families in Texas which were headed by a woman or an aged person had incomes below $3,000. The incidence of poverty among families with lone male heads ranges from a little more than one-third among Texas whites to almost half among U. S. nonwhites to almost two-thirds for Texas nonwhites.

It appears that broken families and those with aged heads are subject to a high incidence of poverty. But these families are often thought of as "abnormal," despite the fact (illustrated in Table 10) that their existence is not uncommon. In any case, it may be better to conclude this chapter with a description of what may be considered typical or "normal" families.

In Table 13, data are presented for four-person families in which the husband and wife live together and have two children under 18 years of age living with them. In this tabulation the husband in every case was an earner, thus excluding families where the husband did not contribute earned income himself. These families might be described as more-or-less typical American families.

Table 13. Husband-Wife Families with Head an Earner and Two Children under 18 Years of Age, with Annual Family Income Less than $2,000 and Less than $3,000, by Color and Residence, Texas, 1959.

Residence and Income Level	Nonwhite families		White families	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
State as a whole				
Total families	17,093	100.0	322,516	100.0
Income under $2,000	3,461	20.2	16,515	5.1
Income under $3,000	7,254	42.4	38,102	11.8
Urban				
Total families	14,088	100.0	253,332	100.0
Income under $2,000	2,213	15.7	9,040	3.6
Income under $3,000	5,247	37.2	22,832	9.0
Rural nonfarm				
Total families	2,414	100.0	50,527	100.0
Income under $2,000	935	38.7	4,065	8.0
Income under $3,000	1,565	64.8	8,961	17.7
Rural farm				
Total families	591	100.0	18,657	100.0
Income under $2,000	313	53.0	3,410	18.3
Income under $3,000	442	74.8	6,309	33.8

Source: Compiled from U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960. Volume I, Part 45--Texas, Table 65.

The most notable points which may be drawn from the data on families which are about "normal" in their makeup are that (1) their poverty incidence is noticeably less than that for all families of the same color, and (2) the relative incidence of poverty is improved over that for all families of the same color much more for whites than for nonwhites. While 57.7 percent of all nonwhite families in Texas were poor, only 42.4 percent of these more standard families had incomes below $3,000. For white families the comparable figures are 25.2 and 11.8 percent, or a relative reduction of poverty by more than half among the white families and of little more than one-quarter among nonwhites in Texas. Thus while having such a normal family composition was definitely associated with less poverty, the nonwhite families under these generally good circumstances were relatively more disadvantaged when compared to similar white families than were the disadvantaged nonwhites in Table 12 when compared to comparable whites.

When families in similar residential areas are compared, the discrepancies between the incidence of poverty among nonwhite and white families remain, although the relative gap between nonwhite and white is by far the greatest in urban areas (Table 13). The nonwhite "standard family" poverty rate in cities is over four times as high as for white families, whereas in rural farm locations (where the rate doubles for nonwhites and nearly quadruples for whites, compared to city figures) the relative difference is only a bit more than twice as high for nonwhite as for white families.

Since even the above figures may be challenged as not eliminating such important other factors as education and number of earners in the family, one other set of data was computed from the 5 percent sample tabulation of Texas residents. Table 14 presents data for husband-wife families whose head had at least a four-year high school education, and who had exactly two children of their own under 18 years of age living with them. The first line reports only those four-person families in which the husband was the sole earner. In this case, 36 percent of the nonwhite high school graduate families had incomes below the poverty level, compared to only 6.6 percent of white families. When both husband and wife worked, 21.5 percent of nonwhite and 3 percent of white families were poor. These figures require at least two comments. First, that motivation to stay in school and get at least a high school diploma would probably be lower nor nonwhite than for white youth due to the fact that even with the diploma a high percentage don't "make it" in Texas. Second, the data are one more sign that even with reasonably good opportunity--that is, a "normal" family, above average education, and with both mother and father working--the life chances of the nonwhite in Texas are woefully short of those of the rest of the population. While it is impossible to say what has happened since 1960 to change the situation, it is not apparent that a great deal of improvement has been made by nonwhites in Texas relative to their white counterparts.

Table 14. Husband-Wife Families with Head Who Completed Four Years of High School or More, and with Two Own Children Under Age 18, that had Family Income of Less than $3,000, by Color and Number of Earners, for Texas, 1959.

Number of Earners	Husband-wife families with two own children under 18					
	Nonwhite			White		
	Total No.	Under $3,000 No.	Under $3,000 %	Total No.	Under $3,000 No.	Under $3,000 %
Husband only	2,940	1,066	36.2	120,650	8,014	6.6
Husband and wife only	2,688	578	21.5	54,848	1,648	3.0

Source: Compiled and computed from a special tabulation of a 5 percent sample of the Texas population from the 1960 census prepared by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, and comparable to Table 3 for the nation in United States Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Sources and Structure of Family Income, Final Report PC (2)-4C.

VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Extent of Poverty

In the nation as a whole, 47.8 percent of the nonwhite families were poor in 1959. In Texas, 57.7 percent of the nonwhite and 25.2 percent of the white families were poor. In the nation, 67.6 percent of the poor nonwhite families were extremely poor (incomes below $2,000). In Texas, 67.4 percent of the poor nonwhite and 61.1 percent of the poor white families were extremely poor. The incidence of poverty among Texas nonwhite families was more than twice that among Texas white families, and was notably higher than that among nonwhite families in the nation.

Residence and Poverty

Almost three-fourths of the poor nonwhite families in the nation were in the South. In terms of rural-urban residence, about two-thirds of the poor white and nonwhite Texas families and the poor nonwhite families in the nation lived in urban areas. The incidence of poverty among residential groups increased from urban to rural nonfarm to rural farm residence for nonwhites in the U. S. and Texas, and for whites in Texas.[18]

However, the incidence of poverty among nonwhites in Texas was greater than that among those in the nation in each residence category except the rural farm category, where it was slightly lower. When nonwhites were compared to whites in Texas, it was found that the incidence of poverty among the nonwhites was roughly twice as high as that among whites in each residence category. An interesting finding is that the extent to which nonwhite poverty exceeds white poverty increases from rural farm to rural nonfarm to urban residence. The implication is clearly that the increased employment opportunities, educational facilities, and other social advantages associated with urbanization are either less available to the nonwhites; or that the uplifting income effects of these opportunities accrue less to nonwhites than to whites.

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[18] For a comprehensive description of the location of nonwhite poverty in Texas, see Appendix A.

Occupations and Poverty

A higher proportion of Texas nonwhites are employed in lower skill occupations than are U. S. nonwhites or Texas whites. The income effects of lower skill occupations, then, partially explain the generally higher incidence of poverty among Texas nonwhites than among U. S. nonwhites or Texas whites. Nevertheless, a higher incidence of poverty within given occupational categories for Texas nonwhites than for either of the other two groups suggests that there are factors other than low-skill occupations involved. The existence of about two to four times more poverty in the higher skill occupational categories compared to about one to two times more poverty in the lower skill categories for nonwhites than for whites in Texas lends strong support to the existence of other important factors.

Employment and Poverty

One-fifth of the poor nonwhite families in the nation and almost one-fourth of the Texas poor white families had no earner, but less than one-sixth of the poor Texas nonwhite families did not have an earner. While one-fourth of the U. S. nonwhite and less than one-fifth of the Texas white poor families had two earners, almost one-third of the Texas poor nonwhite families did. The proportion of Texas nonwhites with three or more earners was about the same as for U. S. nonwhites and nearly twice as high as the Texas whites. Texas nonwhites appear to be somewhat more industrious in terms of family members employed than either Texas whites or U. S. nonwhites. This conclusion should be qualified somewhat in light of the fact that proportionately more employed white heads than nonwhite heads of poor Texas families worked a full year (50-52 weeks) in 1959. But, in any case, the higher rates of poverty among nonwhites compared to whites does not seem to be the result of a lack of industriousness among nonwhites.

Education and Poverty

The general educational level of Texas nonwhites compares favorably with that of U. S. nonwhites and unfavorably with Texas whites, in terms of years of school completed. About 43 percent of the Texas whites compared to about 20 percent of the nonwhites had twelve years or more of school. More significant perhaps is the fact that Texas nonwhites experienced proportionately more poverty at all levels of educational attainment than either the U. S. nonwhites or the Texas whites. It is also of interest that the economic return to education for Texas nonwhites appears to be relatively low for primary and secondary education compared to Texas whites and U. S. nonwhites. The incentives for further education and the financial ability to acquire higher education therefore appear less favorable for Texas nonwhites than for the other groups in question.

Family Structure and Poverty

Broken families and families with aged heads have long been associated with family poverty. Our data indicate that poor nonwhites in Texas and in the nation are similar in the proportions of families with aged heads and lone heads that occur among them. They are also similar in that families with lone heads are a more extensive problem among them than families with aged heads. This situation is reversed among the poor white families in Texas, among whom aged heads constitute a more common factor than lone heads, both considered alone and in comparison with nonwhite families.

The incidence of poverty among families with aged or lone heads is considerable, ranging from roughly 50 percent among Texas whites to about 70 percent among U. S. nonwhites to about 80 percent among Texas nonwhites. Again Texas nonwhites are found to be more impoverished than those in the nation, and considerably more impoverished than Texas whites. Data comparing white and nonwhite families in Texas which may be considered "normal" or typical of family life revealed a familiar pattern--nonwhites remained considerably more impoverished than whites.

Conclusion

We have established that proportionately more nonwhites in Texas are poor and more are extremely poor than either whites in Texas or nonwhites in the nation. Nonwhite poverty was located and its intensity reported by residence. The disproportionately high levels of poverty among nonwhites could not be adequately accounted for by residence, occupational distribution, participation in the labor force, educational attainment, or family structure. While lower educational levels, lower occupational levels, job absenteeism and mobility, and broken families appear to account for part of the higher incidence of poverty among nonwhites, they by no means account for all of it. In each case, when comparable groups of white and nonwhite families were employed in the analysis, a substantially higher incidence of poverty was discovered among the nonwhite families.

This is not to say that efforts designed to increase the skill levels and educational level of nonwhites are misplaced, or that such efforts will fail to alleviate poverty. These factors are closely related to the incidence of poverty, as has been shown here. It must be recognized, however, that in addition to these factors there remain some unspecified factor or factors which are involved in the disproportionately high rates of poverty among nonwhites. Without substantive evidence, only tentative guesses regarding the identity of the relevant factor or factors can be made. A likely candidate, however, may be discrimination or prejudicial practices which prevent nonwhites in Texas from attaining income levels available to Texas whites or U. S. nonwhites with comparable levels of education and skill. While such a proposition may be unpalatable, ignoring the possibility that it may be accurate is foolish and even dangerous. Intensive exploration of the determinants of poverty is essential for the alleviation of poverty. No stone should be left unturned in the process, even when the anticipated discovery involves embarrassment and unpleasantness.

It is hoped that this report has provided some clues for more intensive research, and the beginnings of an empirical foundation which will assist policy makers in their most difficult tasks in the area of poverty. A prerequisite to the alleviation and eventual solution of any problem is an understanding of the problem itself. This report has been essentially an attempt to define the problem of nonwhite poverty, particularly in Texas--to locate it, examine its structure, and relate its occurrence and intensity in broad terms to relevant social characteristics. Hopefully, the information contained here will make some contribution to a fuller understanding of the problem, and will ease the burdens of those charged with doing something about the problem. A more fervent and appropriate hope is that in some small way, however indirectly, this report will play a part in helping to ease some of the grinding burdens of the poor.

APPENDIX A

Geographic Patterns of Poverty Among Nonwhite Families in Texas

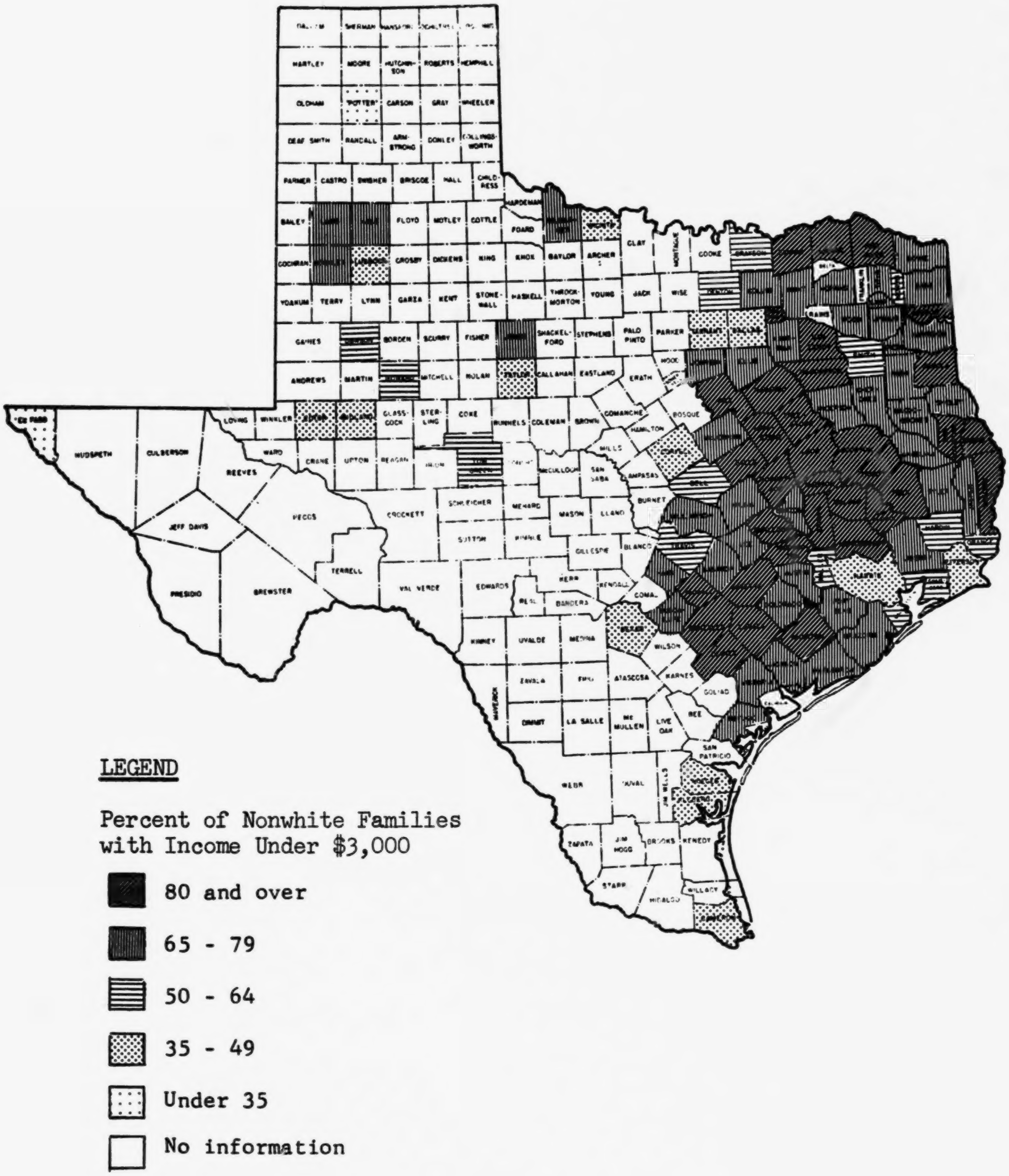
GEOGRAPHIC PATTERNS OF POVERTY AMONG NONWHITE FAMILIES IN TEXAS

This section will deal with the distribution of nonwhite family poverty within Texas. As has been mentioned already, Texas is only partially southern in regard to nonwhite population. Consequently, nonwhite poverty within the state, as will be shown, is heavily concentrated in one area.

It was noted that 57.7 percent of the nonwhite families in Texas were living in poverty. Figure 1, showing the percentage of nonwhite families who were impoverished for all counties with a significant nonwhite population, illustrates the relative location of poverty among nonwhite families within the state. The shaded counties on the map contain 97.0 percent of the state's nonwhite families and 96.5 percent of those living in poverty. The remaining nonwhite families are presumably scattered in small groups throughout the rest of the state.

There are 108 counties on the map which are shaded with various patterns. These compose a large eastern region or "block" of ninety contiguous counties, and eighteen counties outside this eastern block. The eastern block houses 90.4 percent of the state's nonwhite families and 91.3 percent--somewhat more than its proportionate share--of those impoverished. The eighteen counties outside the eastern block, all of which either contain a large city or are adjacent to a county which does, account for 6.5 percent of the state's nonwhite families and 5.2 percent of those impoverished. Less than half of

Figure 1. Percentage of Nonwhite Families Having Less than $3,000 Annual Income, by County, 1959.


LEGEND
Percent of Nonwhite Families with Income Under $3,000
80 and over
65 - 79
50 - 64
35 - 49
Under 35
No information

these eighteen counties have proportions of nonwhite poverty as high as 50 percent. In contrast, over 93 percent of the eastern block counties have proportions of nonwhite poverty of 50 percent or higher. Data for each of the 108 counties with 1,000 or more nonwhite persons are presented in Appendix B.

The Eastern Block of Counties

Nonwhite poverty, then, although to a limited degree associated with cities in or near the eighteen other counties, is largely confined to the eastern block of counties. It is possible to look even more closely at this "stronghold" of nonwhite impoverishment to see how poverty is distributed within it. First to be considered is its distribution on relative terms, that is in terms of the proportion of impoverished families to all families in a given area. Then its distribution in terms of the concentration of numbers of impoverished families within the block will be explored.

Of the ninety counties within the block, all but six--Tarrant, Dallas, Coryell, Bexar, Harris, and Jefferson--had half or more of their nonwhite families living in poverty. It should be noted that each of the six is associated with a large metropolitan center except Coryell. There were thirty-four counties with 80 percent or more of their nonwhite families impoverished. None of these counties had a place with a population of 25,000 or more. It is clear that in relative terms, very high levels of nonwhite poverty blanket almost all of the eastern block. In addition, a relationship between rural areas and very high relative levels of poverty is evident.

The distribution of nonwhite family poverty in absolute terms is a very different matter. Owing to their relatively small populations the thirty-four counties with the highest proportions of poverty (80 percent or more) account for only 18.9 percent of the Negro poverty in the block or 17.3 percent of it in the whole state of Texas. On the other hand, the six eastern counties with lower proportions of poverty (35-49 percent) account for 41.2 percent of the block's nonwhite poverty or 37.6 percent of the state's. In fact, over half the block's and almost half the state's nonwhite family poverty is located in the seventeen eastern block counties with less than 65 percent of their families impoverished. The remaining poverty is distributed among the seventy-three counties with 65 percent or more of their families impoverished.

Metropolitan, Nonmetropolitan and Rural Counties

To identify nonwhite poverty more systematically on the county level, it is worthwhile to classify the 108 counties with significant nonwhite populations as metropolitan, nonmetropolitan, or all rural counties.[19] When this is done the results indicate that twenty-six metropolitan counties contain 65.1 percent of the state's nonwhite families, sixty-nine nonmetropolitan counties have 29.1 percent, and thirteen all-rural counties include 2.8 percent. The remaining 3.0 percent live outside these 108 counties. Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of Texas nonwhite families, and families in poverty among the three types of counties. The metropolitan group of counties, with 54.3 percent of the state's nonwhite poverty, has 17 percent less than its proportionate share based on its share of the total nonwhite families. The nonmetropolitan group, with 38.3 percent of the nonwhite poverty, has 32 percent more than its proportionate share; and the all-rural group, with 3.9 percent of the poverty, has 39 percent more than its share. While the metropolitan counties have 24 percent less than their proportionate share of extreme poverty, the nonmetropolitan and all-rural counties have 47 percent and 64 percent more, respectively, than their share.

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[19] Metropolitan counties are those which are included in standard metropolitan statistical areas. They either contain or are adjacent and closely related to a county which contains a metropolitan center of 50,000 or more. All-rural counties are those with no urban populations, and nonmetropolitan counties are those which contain urban populations but are not included in a standard metropolitan statistical area.

Although about two-thirds of the state's nonwhite families are in the metropolitan counties, the proportion of poor and of extremely poor families in metropolitan areas, both roughly half, is less than would be expected on the basis of the proportion of resident nonwhite families. The broader economic opportunities within these counties accompanied by higher wages seems the most likely explanation for this situation, and it is also feasible that the nonwhites who are attracted to these counties may be more employable in that their educational and occupational skill levels are relatively high compared to the nonmetropolitan and rural nonwhites.

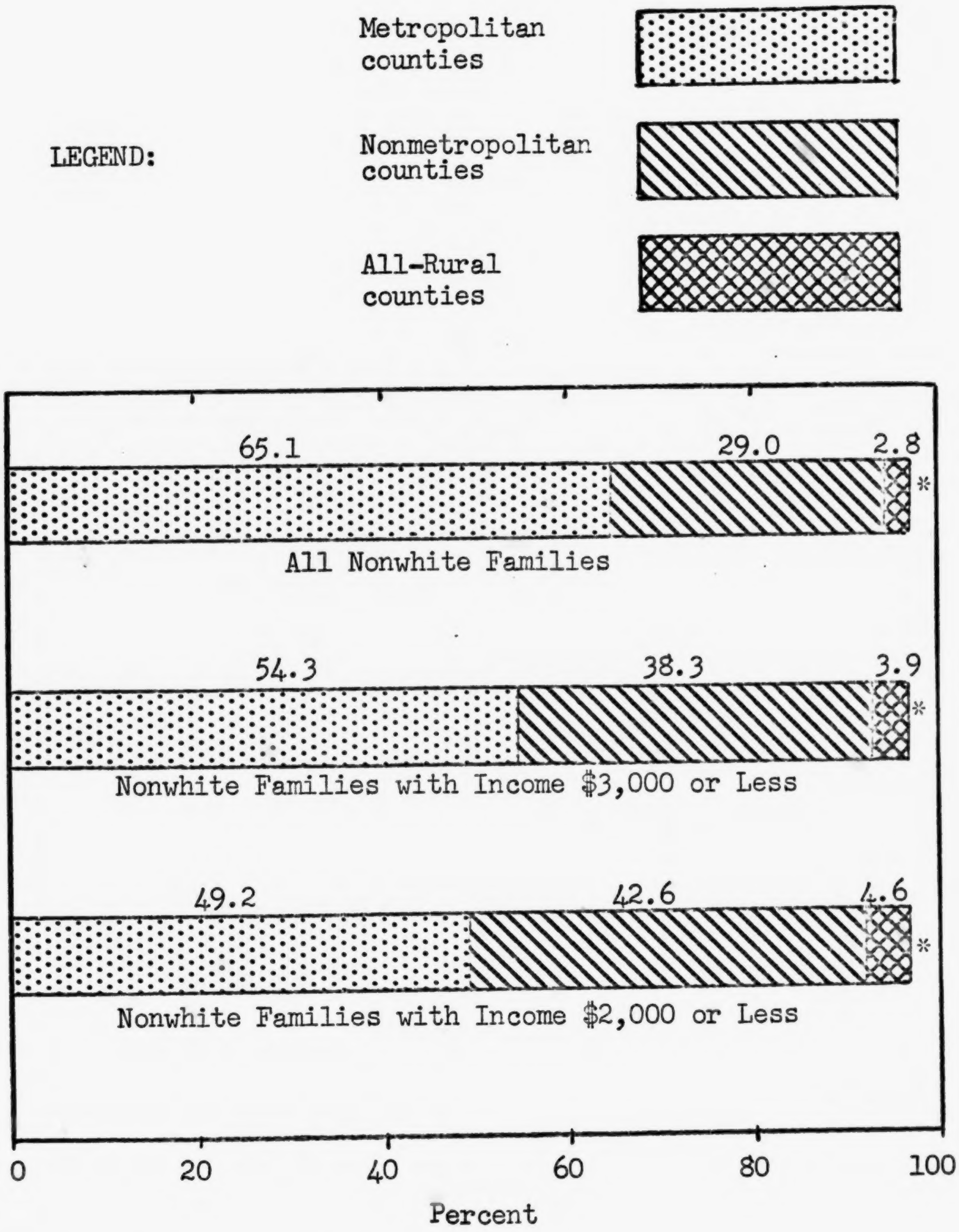

Figure 2. Distribution of All Nonwhite Families, and Nonwhite Families with Incomes of $3,000 or Less, and of $2,000 or Less, Among Metropolitan, Nonmetropolitan, and All-Rural Counties, Texas, 1959.

*Remainder of each bar is the population in counties with fewer than 1,000 nonwhite residents in 1960, for which no breakdown is available.

The nonmetropolitan counties, with less than a third of the state's total nonwhite families have almost two-fifths of the poor nonwhite families and over two-fifths of the very poor families. The all-rural counties, while accounting for less than three percent of the total nonwhite families, have a higher proportion of poverty and extreme poverty than either of the other two types of counties.

The numbers and percentages of total nonwhite families and those living in poverty within the three types of counties are summarized in Table 1. As implied above, the percentage of families living in poverty and extreme poverty are lowest for the metropolitan counties and highest for the all-rural counties. The largest number of poor nonwhite families, however, is found in the metropolitan counties, a considerable number in the nonmetropolitan counties, and a small number in the all-rural counties.

Summary

The purpose of the above analysis is to locate and identify nonwhite poverty in the state. The 54.3 percent of the state's nonwhite poverty that is located in the metropolitan counties is not necessarily less or more of a problem than the 42.2 percent in the nonmetropolitan and all-rural counties.[20] But it does represent a problem of a different

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[20] The discrepancy of 3.5 percent is due to the small number of families living in counties of less than 1,000 nonwhite residents in 1960 for which county data are not available and which could not be apportioned between metropolitan, nonmetropolitan and rural.

Table 1. Numbers and Proportions of Nonwhite Families Living in Poverty in Metropolitan, Nonmetropolitan, and All-Rural Counties of Texas, 1959.*

County Classes	Total Nonwhite Families		Impoverished Nonwhite Families					
			Under $2000		$2000-$3000		Total Under $3000	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Metropolitan (26)	172,407	100.0	50,746	29.4	32,104	18.6	82,850	48.0
Nonmetropolitan (69)**	76,939	100.0	43,950	57.1	14,589	19.0	58,539	76.1
All-Rural (13)**	7,521	100.0	4,738	63.0	1,231	16.4	5,969	79.4

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume I, Part 45-Texas, Tables 86, 88, and 11.

*Data for all counties with a population of 1,000 or more nonwhite persons.

**Nonmetropolitan counties exclude those with no urban population, which are classed as "all-rural."

kind in terms of causes and--more importantly--solutions. The strategy and rationale for poverty programs and policies in the metropolitan counties will not automatically be suitable for the nonmetropolitan and all-rural counties and those which are appropriate for the latter may not be successful in the metropolitan counties. Fruitful programs in the one case may be primarily concerned with general economic development, while in the other emphasis in the direction of relief, retraining, and other areas associated with urban poverty programs may be more appropriate. The all-rural counties which are an extreme case of many of the rural problems of the nonmetropolitan counties could possibly serve as a proving ground for programs designed to alleviate rural poverty. The small number of families involved and the relatively limited variations in environmental patterns would be conducive to controlled experimentation and research.

APPENDIX B

Poverty and Extreme Poverty in Texas Counties with 1,000 or more Nonwhite Residents

Table 1. Proportion of Families with Incomes less than $3,000 in 1959, by Color, together with Nonwhite/White Ratios of Poverty for Texas Counties with 1,000 or more Nonwhite Persons in 1960, in order of the Percentage of Nonwhite Families with Income Under $3,000.

County	Percentage of families reporting income less than $3,000			Nonwhite/White Ratio*
	Total families	Nonwhite families	White families	
Fayette	61.05	89.04	57.17	1.56
Leon	66.56	88.43	56.32	1.57
Houston	65.61	88.42	53.81	1.64
Hill	53.65	87.69	49.18	1.78
Fannin	53.36	87.59	50.30	1.74
Madison	58.47	86.93	48.13	1.81
Limestone	55.46	86.75	45.37	1.91
Van Zandt	47.73	86.15	45.55	1.89
Washington	55.30	86.10	44.92	1.92
Grimes	61.87	85.96	49.33	1.74
Freestone	57.74	85.53	44.54	1.92
Falls	60.62	84.89	51.20	1.66
De Witt	55.35	84.85	51.11	1.66
Gonzales	55.27	84.77	49.93	1.70
San Jacinto	68.62	84.43	55.10	1.53
Panola	46.59	84.31	34.41	2.45
Newton	56.91	83.88	46.35	1.81
Marion	58.01	83.56	35.93	2.32
Navarro	46.96	83.36	37.72	2.21
San Augustine	64.65	83.27	55.93	1.49

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960. Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas (Washington, 1963), Tables 86 and 88.

*The ratio of the percentage of nonwhite families with income of less than $3,000 to the percentage of white families of less than $3,000 income. The nonwhite/white ratio for the state is 2.3.

Table 1, continued.

County	Percentage of families reporting income less than $3,000			Nonwhite/White Ratio*
	Total families	Nonwhite families	White families	
Burleson	58.60	83.11	49.73	1.67
Caldwell	50.08	82.90	44.95	1.84
Red River	59.71	82.51	53.87	1.53
Robertson	56.81	82.44	43.76	1.88
Lavaca	57.64	82.31	55.30	1.49
Walker	53.02	82.25	38.10	2.16
Trinity	60.70	81.91	54.24	1.51
Lamar	48.04	81.86	42.25	1.94
Montgomery	41.68	81.73	31.46	2.60
Wharton	42.97	81.57	34.37	2.37
Henderson	50.85	81.52	45.11	1.81
Rockwall	40.01	81.22	32.65	2.49
Sabine	60.92	81.17	55.45	1.46
Polk	53.66	80.85	43.74	1.85
Tyler	55.33	79.83	50.17	1.59
Cherokee	50.45	79.74	42.67	1.87
Jackson	35.25	79.68	29.74	2.68
Hopkins	49.40	79.47	46.38	1.71
Lee	58.79	79.32	53.38	1.48
Colorado	42.56	79.31	32.11	2.47
Shelby	57.96	79.02	52.69	1.50
Milam	51.05	78.97	46.13	1.71
Bastrop	53.19	78.92	44.31	1.78
Austin	53.41	78.51	48.08	1.63
Williamson	48.61	78.15	44.52	1.76
Matagorda	38.10	77.22	28.80	2.68
Rusk	40.20	76.80	28.80	2.67
Anderson	42.82	76.62	31.49	2.43
Jones	33.99	76.41	32.09	2.38
Liberty	42.81	76.40	34.07	2.24
Wilbarger	32.44	75.86	29.05	2.61
Cass	46.12	75.61	36.57	2.07
Fort Bend	38.48	74.05	30.74	2.41
Victoria	30.87	73.81	26.90	2.74
Harrison	42.53	73.75	23.78	3.10

Table 1, continued.

County	Percentage of families reporting income less than $3,000			Nonwhite/White Ratio*
	Total families	Nonwhite families	White families	
Brazos	36.58	73.67	27.46	2.68
Brazoria	20.28	73.58	15.26	4.82
Lamb	34.81	72.41	32.35	2.24
Hunt	39.05	72.40	34.08	2.12
Jasper	44.59	72.01	37.46	1.92
Titus	40.60	71.75	35.45	2.02
Refugio	36.26	71.29	33.11	2.15
Kaufman	43.76	71.03	34.95	2.03
Nacogdoches	50.00	70.74	43.73	1.62
Ellis	39.28	70.36	32.54	2.16
Bowie	36.62	69.70	28.29	2.46
Camp	46.95	69.63	36.00	1.93
Hockley	28.82	69.51	26.95	2.58
Johnson	28.43	69.35	26.76	2.59
Gregg	28.15	69.13	18.32	3.77
Upshur	43.15	67.69	36.27	1.87
Guadalupe	40.76	67.11	37.69	1.78
Angelina	34.23	67.06	28.55	2.35
Hays	44.33	66.54	42.88	1.55
Hale	30.41	66.19	28.70	2.31
McLennan	29.76	65.97	23.94	2.76
Wood	44.70	65.06	41.89	1.55
Collin	36.25	65.05	33.78	1.92
Smith	31.07	64.00	49.92	1.28
Tom Green	28.40	63.89	26.74	2.39
Grayson	32.66	63.86	30.14	2.12
Hardin	33.33	63.60	29.00	2.19
Chambers	27.38	63.45	20.05	3.16
Howard	18.89	62.87	17.21	3.65
Waller	47.47	62.38	37.30	1.67
Morris	33.20	61.72	25.84	2.39
Denton	28.57	59.64	26.63	2.24
Travis	24.83	56.41	20.83	2.71
Bell	31.91	54.52	29.43	1.85
Orange	20.51	54.18	17.23	3.14

Table 1, continued.

County	Percentage of families reporting income less than $3,000			Nonwhite/White Ratio*
	Total families	Nonwhite families	White families	
Dawson	28.03	52.51	26.85	1.96
Galveston	23.20	50.86	16.64	3.06
Wichita	19.75	49.52	17.68	2.80
Tarrant	18.71	49.33	15.44	3.19
Nueces	28.41	49.28	27.39	1.80
Jefferson	19.98	48.97	12.54	3.90
Dallas	16.33	47.21	11.82	3.99
Cameron	47.24	47.20	47.24	1.00
Bexar	27.16	46.19	25.76	1.79
Lubbock	19.96	43.86	18.29	2.40
Harris	18.08	42.76	12.63	3.38
Taylor	20.97	42.54	20.07	2.12
Kleberg	35.49	41.12	35.27	1.16
Midland	13.13	40.16	10.76	3.73
Coryell	40.48	38.53	40.53	0.95
Ector	14.24	36.77	13.13	2.80
Potter	16.06	32.50	15.07	2.16
El Paso	22.08	30.01	21.86	1.37

Table 2. Proportion of Families with Incomes less than $2,000 in 1959, by Color, together with Nonwhite/White Ratios of Extreme Poverty, for Texas Counties with 1,000 or more Nonwhite Persons in 1960, in Order of the Percentage of Nonwhite Families with Income Under $2,000.

County	Percentage of families reporting income less than $2,000		Nonwhite/White Ratio of Extreme Poverty*
	Nonwhite families	White families	
Houston	79.64	38.14	2.09
Madison	79.22	37.94	2.09
San Jacinto	75.45	43.81	1.72
Leon	75.30	40.29	1.87
Freestone	74.63	31.83	2.34
Grimes	73.29	32.66	2.24
Fayette	73.05	39.14	1.87
Washington	72.99	30.95	2.36
Burleson	72.12	32.35	2.23
Marion	71.75	23.11	3.10
Fannin	71.66	35.62	2.01
Lee	71.57	36.65	1.95
Limestone	71.08	32.47	2.19
Robertson	70.53	30.48	2.31
Falls	69.65	36.43	1.91
Gonzales	68.22	33.33	2.05
Red River	68.06	40.01	1.70
De Witt	68.06	35.09	1.94
Hill	67.85	32.68	2.08
Lamar	67.34	28.45	2.37

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960. Volume I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas (Washington, 1963), Tables 86 and 88.

*The ratio of the percentage of nonwhite families with income of less than $2,000 to the percentage of white families of less than $2,000 income. The nonwhite/white ratio for the state is 2.5.

Table 2, continued.

County	Percentage of families reporting income less than $2,000		Nonwhite/White Ratio of Extreme Poverty*
	Nonwhite families	White families	
Newton	66.66	31.77	2.10
Rockwall	66.37	23.53	2.82
Navarro	66.15	24.14	2.74
Trinity	65.74	37.97	1.73
Milam	65.02	32.23	2.02
Lavaca	64.19	40.51	1.58
Anderson	64.02	21.24	3.01
Cass	63.51	26.01	2.44
Caldwell	63.07	28.13	2.24
Walker	62.85	26.55	2.37
Panola	62.81	24.53	2.56
Henderson	61.86	31.62	1.96
Bastrop	61.25	28.36	2.16
Austin	61.11	35.53	1.72
Cherokee	60.64	28.17	2.15
Shelby	59.70	34.39	1.74
Montgomery	59.49	19.76	3.01
Hopkins	59.35	32.42	1.83
Jackson	59.10	17.89	3.30
San Augustine	58.94	39.25	1.50
Rusk	58.93	19.09	3.09
Williamson	58.77	28.81	2.04
Colorado	58.72	20.74	2.83
Wharton	58.61	21.81	2.69
Camp	58.61	23.32	2.51
Matagorda	56.27	20.08	2.80
Van Zandt	55.70	30.83	1.81
Titus	55.43	22.82	2.43
Tyler	54.88	34.33	1.60
Brazos	54.58	16.31	3.35
Polk	54.07	27.76	1.95
Liberty	53.42	23.31	2.29
Bowie	53.41	18.91	2.82
Fort Bend	53.23	20.00	2.66
Harrison	53.16	15.00	3.54

Table 2, continued.

County	Percentage of families reporting income less than $2,000		Nonwhite/White Ratio of Extreme Poverty*
	Nonwhite families	White families	
Hunt	52.04	22.31	2.33
Kaufman	51.16	22.47	2.28
Sabine	50.85	34.89	1.46
Wood	50.66	30.20	1.68
Ellis	50.29	21.72	2.32
Upshur	50.04	24.74	2.02
Morris	49.92	19.82	2.52
Brazoria	49.84	08.91	5.59
Waller	49.71	24.86	2.00
Victoria	49.00	15.90	3.08
Guadalupe	48.60	22.02	2.21
Jones	48.03	18.44	2.60
McLennan	47.36	13.29	3.56
Gregg	47.16	11.15	4.23
Nacogdoches	46.75	29.35	1.59
Hays	46.69	27.23	1.71
Wilbarger	46.55	16.47	2.83
Jasper	45.75	24.60	1.86
Collin	45.50	21.09	2.16
Hardin	43.72	18.95	2.31
Refugio	43.51	22.12	1.97
Smith	42.62	29.43	1.45
Angelina	41.81	18.00	2.32
Grayson	40.68	18.35	2.22
Johnson	40.59	16.19	2.51
Lamb	40.22	17.87	2.25
Howard	37.94	08.46	4.48
Denton	37.86	15.53	2.44
Orange	37.13	09.86	3.76
Hockley	36.17	14.47	2.50
Hale	35.95	15.89	2.26
Tom Green	35.83	15.33	2.34
Chambers	35.42	12.44	2.85
Bell	33.98	17.25	1.97
Travis	33.29	10.78	3.09

Table 2, continued.

County	Percentage of families reporting income less than $2,000		Nonwhite/White Ratio of Extreme Poverty*
	Nonwhite families	White families	
Nueces	33.19	16.97	1.96
Galveston	32.53	09.62	3.38
Cameron	32.00	31.52	1.02
Jefferson	30.68	07.51	4.08
Wichita	30.26	09.55	3.17
Tarrant	29.51	08.66	3.41
Dallas	27.29	06.60	4.13
Bexar	26.88	14.45	1.86
Taylor	25.88	10.57	2.45
Harris	25.76	07.28	3.54
Kleberg	25.40	22.06	1.15
Lubbock	24.73	10.05	2.46
Coryell	22.01	22.28	0.99
Dawson	21.91	15.13	1.45
Midland	21.72	05.95	3.65
Ector	21.19	07.46	2.84
El Paso	14.64	11.24	1.30
Potter	13.06	07.61	1.72

Table 3. Nonwhite/White Poverty Ratios of Texas Counties in 1959, Listed in Rank Order of the Magnitude of the Ratio for all Counties Enumerating 1,000 or more Nonwhite Persons in 1960.

County	Nonwhite/White Poverty Ratio*
Brazoria	4.82
Dallas	3.99
Jefferson	3.90
Gregg	3.77
Midland	3.73
Howard	3.65
Harris	3.38
Tarrant	3.19
Chambers	3.16
Orange	3.14
Harrison	3.10
Galveston	3.06
Wichita	2.80
Ector	2.80
McLennan	2.76
Victoria	2.74
Travis	2.71
Matagorda	2.68
Jackson	2.68
Brazos	2.68
Rusk	2.67
Wilbarger	2.61
Montgomery	2.60
Johnson	2.59
Hockley	2.58

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960. Volume I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas (Washington, 1963), Tables 86 and 88.

*The ratio of the percentage of nonwhite families with income of less than $3,000 to the percentage of white families of less than $3,000 income. The nonwhite/white ratio for the state is 2.3.

Table 3, continued.

County	Nonwhite/White Poverty Ratio*
Rockwall	2.49
Colorado	2.47
Bowie	2.46
Panola	2.45
Anderson	2.43
Fort Bend	2.41
Lubbock	2.40
Tom Green	2.39
Morris	2.39
Jones	2.38
Wharton	2.37
Angelina	2.35
Marion	2.32
Hale	2.31
Lamb	2.24
Liberty	2.24
Denton	2.24
Navarro	2.21
Hardin	2.19
Walker	2.16
Potter	2.16
Ellis	2.16
Refugio	2.15
Taylor	2.12
Hunt	2.12
Grayson	2.12
Cass	2.07
Kaufman	2.03
Titus	2.02
Dawson	1.96
Lamar	1.94
Camp	1.93
Washington	1.92
Jasper	1.92
Freestone	1.92
Collin	1.92
Limestone	1.91
Van Zandt	1.89
Robertson	1.88
Upshur	1.87

Table 3, continued.

County	Nonwhite/White Poverty Ratio*
Cherokee	1.87
Polk	1.85
Bell	1.85
Caldwell	1.84
Newton	1.81
Madison	1.81
Henderson	1.81
Nueces	1.80
Bexar	1.79
Hill	1.78
Guadalupe	1.78
Bastrop	1.78
Williamson	1.76
Grimes	1.74
Fannin	1.74
Milam	1.71
Hopkins	1.71
Gonzales	1.70
Waller	1.67
Burleson	1.67
Falls	1.66
De Witt	1.66
Houston	1.64
Austin	1.63
Nacogdoches	1.62
Tyler	1.59
Leon	1.57
Fayette	1.56
Wood	1.55
Hays	1.55
San Jacinto	1.53
Red River	1.53
Trinity	1.51
Shelby	1.50
San Augustine	1.49
Lavaca	1.49
Lee	1.48
Sabine	1.46
El Paso	1.37
Smith	1.28

Table 3, continued.

County	Nonwhite/White Poverty Ratio*
Kleberg	1.16
Cameron	1.00
Coryell	0.95

Table 4. Nonwhite/White Ratios of Extreme Poverty in Texas Counties in 1959, Listed in Rank Order of the Magnitude of the Ratio for all Counties Enumerating 1,000 or more Nonwhite Persons in 1960.

County	Nonwhite/White Ratio of Extreme Poverty*
Brazoria	5.59
Howard	4.48
Gregg	4.23
Dallas	4.13
Jefferson	4.08
Orange	3.76
Midland	3.65
McLennan	3.56
Harris	3.54
Harrison	3.54
Tarrant	3.41
Galveston	3.38
Brazos	3.35
Jackson	3.30
Wichita	3.17
Marion	3.10
Rusk	3.09
Travis	3.09
Victoria	3.08
Anderson	3.01
Montgomery	3.01
Chambers	2.85
Ector	2.84
Colorado	2.83

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960. Volume I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas (Washington, 1963), Tables 86 and 88.

*The ratio of the percentage of nonwhite families with income of less than $2,000 to the percentage of white families of less than $2,000 income. The nonwhite/white ratio for the state is 2.5.

Table 4, continued.

County	Nonwhite/White Ratio of Extreme Poverty*
Wilbarger	2.83
Bowie	2.82
Rockwall	2.82
Matagorda	2.80
Navarro	2.74
Wharton	2.69
Fort Bend	2.66
Jones	2.60
Panola	2.56
Morris	2.52
Camp	2.51
Johnson	2.51
Hockley	2.50
Lubbock	2.46
Taylor	2.45
Cass	2.44
Denton	2.44
Titus	2.43
Lamar	2.37
Walker	2.37
Washington	2.36
Freestone	2.34
Tom Green	2.34
Hunt	2.33
Angelina	2.32
Ellis	2.32
Hardin	2.31
Robertson	2.31
Liberty	2.29
Kaufman	2.28
Hale	2.26
Lamb	2.25
Caldwell	2.24
Grimes	2.24
Burleson	2.23
Grayson	2.22
Guadalupe	2.21
Limestone	2.19
Bastrop	2.16
Collin	2.16

Table 4, continued.

County	Nonwhite/White Ratio of Extreme Poverty*
Cherokee	2.15
Newton	2.10
Houston	2.09
Madison	2.09
Hill	2.08
Gonzales	2.05
Williamson	2.04
Milam	2.02
Upshur	2.02
Fannin	2.01
Waller	2.00
Bell	1.97
Refugio	1.97
Henderson	1.96
Nueces	1.96
Lee	1.95
Polk	1.95
De Witt	1.94
Falls	1.91
Fayette	1.87
Leon	1.87
Bexar	1.86
Jasper	1.86
Hopkins	1.83
Van Zandt	1.81
Shelby	1.74
Trinity	1.73
Austin	1.72
Potter	1.72
San Jacinto	1.72
Hays	1.71
Red River	1.70
Wood	1.68
Tyler	1.60
Nacogdoches	1.59
Lavaca	1.58
San Augustine	1.50
Sabine	1.46
Dawson	1.45
Smith	1.45

Table 4, continued.

County	Nonwhite/White Ratio of Extreme Poverty*
El Paso	1.30
Kleberg	1.15
Cameron	1.02
Coryell	0.99

APPENDIX C

Supplementary Occupation and Employment Data

Table 1. CIVILIAN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Generalized Skill Level	Occupational Category	Specific Examples of Kind of Jobs in Group
Higher:	Professional & Technical	Accountant, architect, athlete, dentist, engineer, lawyer, scientist, teacher, therapist.
	Proprietors, Managers, Officials	Bankers, buyers & department heads in stores, R.R. conductors, department heads, pilots.
	Farmers & Farm Managers	Farmers (owner or tenant): dog raiser, florist, stock raiser, farm manager.
	Clerical workers	Bookkeepers, cashiers, bill collectors, mail carriers, messengers, stenographers, telephone operators.
	Sales workers	Auctioneers, demonstrators, peddlers, insurance agents, newsboys, real estate salesmen, bond & stock salesmen.
	Craftsmen & Foremen	Bakers, carpenters, cranemen, jewelers, R.R. engineers, mechanics & repairmen, plumbers.
Lower:	Operatives	Apprentices, assemblers, bus drivers, deliverymen, mine laborers, packers, sailors, seamstresses, taxi and truck drivers.
	Service workers, exc. household	Attendants, barbers, bartenders, cleaners, cooks, hairdressers, janitors, fire and policemen, waitresses.

For futher information, see the U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume I, Part 1, United States Summary, pages LXVII-LXXII.

Private household workers	Babysitters, housekeepers, laundresses, kitchen worker, maids.
Farm laborers	Farm foremen, cowboy, picker, cutter, sheep shearer, sprayer, combine operator, milker.
Laborers, exc. farm & mine	Carpenters' helpers, fishermen, car washers, longshoremen, truck drivers' helpers, warehousemen, "laborers."

Table 2. Number and Percent of Families and Low-Income Families by Occupational Category and Color of Head, and Relative Number of Nonwhite Families in Each Occupational Category, Texas, 1960.*

Occupational category	Nonwhite families		White families		Percent of families nonwhite
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
ALL FAMILIES	208,278	100.0	1,780,510	100.0	10.5
Professional & Technical	7,246	3.5	191,588	10.8	3.6
Proprietors, Managers & Officials	4,170	2.0	254,942	14.3	1.6
Farmers & Farm Managers	6,335	3.0	118,918	6.7	5.0
Clerical Workers	6,096	2.9	127,014	7.1	4.6
Sales Workers	1,698	0.8	128,457	7.2	1.3
Craftsmen & Foremen	15,918	7.6	371,524	20.9	4.1
Operatives	42,697	20.5	307,861	17.3	12.2
Service Workers, exc. Household	38,351	18.4	79,363	4.4	32.6
Private Household Workers	17,214	8.3	5,946	0.3	74.3
Farm Laborers	11,467	5.5	49,821	2.8	18.7
Laborers, exc. Farm, Mine	45,470	21.9	84,897	4.8	34.9
Occupation not reported	11,616	5.6	60,179	3.4	16.2
LOW-INCOME FAMILIES	107,511	100.0	347,006	100.0	23.7
Professional & Technical	1,400	1.3	9,845	2.8	12.4
Proprietors, Managers & Officials	1,678	1.6	27,111	7.8	5.8
Farmers & Farm Managers	5,394	5.0	52,828	15.3	9.3

Clerical Workers	1,256	1.2	13,624	3.9	8.4
Sales Workers	705	0.6	16,346	4.7	4.1
Craftsmen & Foremen	6,360	5.9	49,215	14.2	11.4
Operatives	17,932	16.7	61,280	17.7	22.6
Service Workers, exc. Household	19,959	18.6	26,903	7.8	42.6
Private Household Workers	14,503	13.5	4,789	1.4	75.2
Farm Laborers	9,931	9.2	36,253	10.4	21.5
Laborers, exc. Farm, Mine	22,630	21.0	35,812	10.3	38.7
Occupation not reported	5,763	5.4	13,000	3.7	30.7

Source: Compiled and computed from U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1960, Volume I, Part 45, Texas, Table 145.

*Includes only families with head in the experienced civilian labor force.

Table 3. Husband-Wife Families and Extent to Which the Head Worked 50 or more Weeks, by Income Level, Size of Family and Earner Characteristics, Texas, 1959.*

Color and Size of Family	All husband-wife families		Low-income husband-wife families		
			Total		
	Total Number	Percent in which head worked 50 weeks or more in 1959	Number	Percent of all families in this class (col. 3/col.1)	Percent in which head worked 50 weeks or more in 1959
NONWHITE HUSBAND-WIFE FAMILIES					
2 Persons	62,411	43.9	38,738	62.1	26.5
Head an earner	49,440	55.4	26,580	53.8	38.6
Head sole earner	20,631	54.8	13,522	65.5	42.6
Head & wife earners	28,809	55.8	13,058	45.3	34.4
No earners	9,375	----	9,111	97.2	----
3 or 4 Persons	68,006	56.8	31,262	46.0	37.4
Head an earner	62,152	62.2	26,506	42.6	44.1
Head sole earner	24,124	62.2	13,082	54.2	47.5
Head & wife earners	33,208	**	11,816	35.6	**
No earners	2,436	----	2,336	95.9	----
5 or more Persons	72,653	56.4	32,563	44.8	39.0
Head an earner	67,886	60.4	28,921	42.6	43.8
Head sole earner	26,505	62.0	14,505	54.7	50.9
Head & wife earners	32,199	**	11,578	36.0	**
No earners	1,485	----	1,444	97.2	----
Total: 3 or More Persons	140,659	56.6	63,825	45.4	38.2
Head an earner	130,038	61.2	55,427	42.6	44.0
Head sole earner	50,629	62.1	27,587	54.5	49.3
Head & wife earners	65,407	**	23,394	35.8	**
No earners	3,921	----	3,780	96.4	----
WHITE HUSBAND-WIFE FAMILIES					
2 Persons	583,891	57.4	195,475	33.5	26.9
Head an earner	476,278	70.4	113,386	23.8	46.4
Head sole earner	269,548	70.0	84,105	31.2	48.7
Head & wife earners	206,730	70.8	29,281	14.2	39.8
No earners	87,017	----	71,416	82.1	----

3 or 4 Persons	822,133	75.7	132,223	16.1	45.8
Head an earner	782,994	79.5	109,323	14.0	55.4
Head sole earner	409,986	81.5	75,437	18.4	59.2
Head & wife earners	285,251	**	22,895	8.0	**
No earners	16,389	----	13,384	81.7	----
5 or more Persons	513,960	73.3	99,771	19.4	43.7
Head an earner	497,537	75.8	89,632	18.0	48.6
Head sole earner	278,932	78.0	59,148	21.2	52.9
Head & wife earners	122,576	**	14,803	12.1	**
No earners	5,887	----	5,141	87.3	----
Total: 3 or More Persons	1,336,093	74.8	231,994	17.4	44.9
Head an earner	1,280,531	78.0	198,955	15.5	52.3
Head sole earner	688,918	80.1	134,585	19.5	56.4
Head & wife earners	407,827	**	37,698	9.2	**
No earners	22,276	----	18,525	83.2	----

Source: Compiled and computed from special tabulations of Texas data by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, comparable to national data in Tables 1 and 2 of the United States Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Sources and Structure of Family Income. Final Report PC (2)-4C.

*All data refer to families in which both husband and wife were living in the same household, with or without other persons, according to the number of persons in the family.

**Data not available for this combination.

Table 4. Incidence of Poverty Among Husband-Wife Families in Which the Husband Worked 50 or more Weeks in 1959, and Relative Number of Working Husbands Who Worked 50 or more Weeks, by Occupation and Color, for Texas.

Occupation group	Husband-Wife Families in Which Husband was an Earner					
	Total number of Earner Husbands		Percent who worked 50 or more weeks		Percent of 50 week Workers whose Family income was under $3,000	
	Nonwhite	White	Non-white	White	Non-white	White
Professional & Technical, Proprietors, Managers & Officials:						
Salaried	6,667	291,831	60.6	87.3	16.7	2.6
Self-employed	3,249	134,341	69.3	83.8	32.5	12.1
Farmers & Farm Managers	5,535	112,165	42.5	76.7	79.7	38.4
Clerical & Sales Workers	7,264	223,479	79.6	82.9	13.6	5.3
Craftsmen, Foremen and Operatives	56,646	670,892	63.3	70.1	28.2	8.8
Service Workers, inc. Private Households	29,777	65,081	72.1	75.5	34.6	19.0
Laborers, inc. Farm	57,270	133,593	45.3	52.3	39.4	39.2
Total*	166,408	1,631,382	58.7	75.3	32.6	11.5

Source: Compiled and computed from a special tabulation of data from a 5 percent sample of the Texas population prepared by the Bureau of the Census, and comparable to national data published in Tables 1 and 2 of United States Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Sources and Structure of Family Income. Final Report PC (2)-4C.

*Totals exclude husbands who were in the armed forces, and those whose occupations were not reported.